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ABSTRACT

This report describes a study which examined the economic conditions under which artists function and the processes artists use to get work exhibited. The interaction of these two factors and their relationship to exhibition and sales success were also studied. Two techniques were used to collect data. The first was a series of group discussions with professional artists in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Houston, and Minneapolis/St. Paul. The second was a mail survey of the same population, which resulted in 940 completed interviews. There are seven chapters to the report: Historical Perspectives and the Artists' Perspectives on Issues and Problems; Conceptual Framework and Methodology; Socio-demographic and Art Form, Characteristics of the Sample; Economic and Work Conditions; Occupational Conditions I, Exposure; Occupational Conditions II, the Exhibition Process; and Assessment of Needs. Examples of some of the findings follow. A large proportion of artists in the sample had low incomes. Women and younger and older artists had relatively low incomes. Washington, D.C. artists had by far the lowest personal earnings, but also the lowest work-related expenses. Thirty-nine percent of the artists held an art-related part-time job so that they could survive economically. Expenses for studio space were a major concern. The most successful artists are characterized by high quality shows, high income, an orientation to commercial galleries, self-reliance, and exhibitor connections. (RM)

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The Economic Conditions and Exhibition Processes of Artists in Four Cities

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of a market economy for the production and sale of art, radically different art forms, a much broader audience for art, and a significant regionalism in the art market are interrelated factors which produced significant changes in how artists function. Much of the earlier discourse on art and artists have focussed on art movements and the content of the artist's creative activity. Relatively little effort has been devoted to the day-to-day problems of the functioning artist. In general, we need to know more about the economic conditions under which artists function, the process artists use to get work exhibited, the interaction of those two factors, and their relationship to exhibition and sales success. In addition, we need to understand how the operation of this system is related to the various approaches to helping artists create and produce their work. It was the goal of research described in this report to address these issues and increase our understanding of these processes.

In addition to the specific research questions, a substantial amount of previously unexplored descriptive information has been generated. This summary will present a highly condensed version of both analytic and descriptive results.

METHODOLOGY

Because our objectives involved the specific behavior and perspective of artists, the approach to data collection had to focus on artists as information sources. We used two techniques to collect these data. The first was a series of group discussions with professional artists in each of the four cities involved in the study.* The second was a mail survey of the same population which resulted in 940 completed interviews and provides the basic data reported here.

Our procedures in developing the samples and completing data collection were as follows:

(1) Lists of professional exhibition spaces in each city were developed from public sources and expert consultants. A professional artist was defined as someone who had exhibited in one or more of these spaces over a three year period (1976 - 1978). Proprietors (directors, owners, curators, etc.) were asked to provide lists of artists who had exhibited in their spaces and these lists became our population of professional artists in each city.

(2) A small sample of artists from each city was asked to attend group discussion sessions on the condition of artists and the exhibition process in their cities. Four to six such meetings of artists were held in each city. In addition, exhibitors from each city were interviewed in

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* Washington, D. C., San Francisco, Houston and Minneapolis/St. Paul.

group sessions to provide an alternative perspective of the exhibition process. Results of all sessions were used to identify problems and develop questionnaire items for the general survey.

(3) A probability sample of about 2000 artists was chosen from the basic lists and each artist received a questionnaire covering economic status, exhibition experience, art form, methods used in trying to exhibit work, income and expenditures on art, art information sources, and demographic characteristics. Data resulting from these questionnaires and the group discussions were used to perform analyses described in the report.

ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Artists' and exhibitors' comments on major problems and issues provide the context for the discussion of survey results. The problems addressed in the discussions were divided into three interrelated categories: (1) producing art; (2) exhibiting art; and (3) selling art.

Producing Art.

Producing art is a function of the amount of interest the artist has, the amount of time the artist has, the space available for production, and the funds required to buy supplies. Very few artists are able to support themselves through the sale of their work. This means that they must have either a job or some outside means of support. The issue for younger and less experienced artists is usually how they can find enough time to do their art and support themselves at the same time. Many see work as a severe restriction on what they would really like to be doing and look to some form of outside support, direct or indirect, to alleviate the problem. Those with support from spouses are personally less concerned, but generally sympathetic to the problem. While a very small number of artists have received some kind of direct patronage support, it is generally not consistent or fully supportive. Those who have received such support are usually relatively advanced in their careers.

The problem extends beyond time to concerns about materials and space to work. Most artists say they do not earn enough from their sales to replace basic art supplies. This is particularly true of those who work in the more expensive media, and it means that their creative efforts may be limited by both time and materials.

The final limiting factor, beyond personal preferences, is space in which to work. Many artists need a dedicated space to either produce or process their work. Most resolve this problem by working in their homes, but often this is not feasible because of the nature of the work or the conditions of the home environment. For these artists the availability and costs of studio space are major problems in producing their work.

The issues which follow from these problems may be divided into two general categories: 1. personal priorities, and 2. social support. It is the latter category with which we are concerned here. Many, probably most, artists feel that some kind of external support should be provided to help artists overcome economic, materials, and space difficulties, so that they will be free to pursue their work. These opinions are based largely on the perceived value of art to the society and the failure of the market economy in art to support the desired level (from the artist's perspective) of artistic output. Among the artists with whom we spoke, the dominant issues were how much support and how the support should be provided. Only a small minority was willing to argue for a market or privately determined support system, i.e., no government aid to artists. Yet, most of those who participated had never had any form of direct government support for their work. The recommendations on the nature of the support centered around how the support should be given, to whom it should be given, and by whom it should be allocated. Discussions centered around the role of the federal government, specifically the National Endowment for the Arts. The issues of how support should be given can be described as a competition between individual and institutional support. Among artists, individual support is favored, although some see advantages in institutional support (e.g., aid to museums and alternative spaces for specific shows) which they feel increases the opportunity for exhibition. Most artists also think that the size of the grants given to artists should be increased. There is further general agreement that "artists" should have a greater role in the determination of how money should be distributed and who should receive the awards. While there was general agreement on the above issues, there was much less agreement about how the recipients and the judges should be selected.

Exhibiting Art

The primary problem of exhibiting is that there are fewer available spaces in which to exhibit than there are artists who would like to fill them. This oversupply of art creates a competition for the spaces which is complicated by the fact that spaces are not equally available to all artists. That is, there are a number of factors entering the selection decision processes of exhibitors (museum curators, gallery owners, judges, etc.) which differentially limit the access to artists. Thus, the accessibility problem is not just a question of the ratio of spaces to artists, but includes such additional factors as (1) the quality of the artist's work as perceived by the exhibitors; (2) the physical and conceptual fitness of the work in the space (medium, style, art form, etc.); (3) the "pragmatic" quality of the work (e.g., will it sell or will the Board of Directors approve); (4) the experience of the artist (i.e., exhibition history or reputation); (5) the amount of space at a given point in time (the "not now" phenomenon); (6) the artist's preference for particular spaces (based on reputation, visibility, location, potential earnings, personal feelings about the exhibition, etc.); (7) social criteria; (8) geographic criteria; and (9) the personal feelings of the exhibitor toward the artist (dpendability, trust, etc.).

Two factors, information and process, permeate all the others. Information helps artists define the spaces where they are more likely to obtain exhibitions. Having an accurate image of this situation facilitates the artists' capacities to operate in their exhibition environment. Process includes those actions taken by the artists (in light of what they know about their exhibition potential) and by the exhibitors to fill available spaces. Insofar as the artists are uninformed or take inappropriate actions, they use their time inefficiently and reduce their chances for exhibition. Similarly, to the extent that the exhibitor is unaware of how and where to seek out (or be sought out by) appropriate artists, they will not be able to present the type and quality exhibits they desire. It is the failure of individuals in both groups to understand this interaction that contributes significantly to differences and conflict between the groups. The general problem of accessibility is manifested for artists and exhibitors in a variety of specific issues over which there is considerable disagreement. The areas of contention include: (1) perceived biases against certain types of art and artists; (2) limitations in space available to exhibit all types of art; (3) selection criteria for exhibition (in addition to style or art form); (4) differences in perspective on the process of exhibiting as seen by artists and exhibitors; and (5) outside support for exhibition space.

As might be expected, many, if not most, artists who are not enjoying overwhelming success felt that the local system (available exhibition spaces) is biased against them. This feeling goes beyond individual discrimination and usually is presented in terms of group characteristics, including both the commonly recognized racial and gender discrimination and discrimination based on artistic style or approach. Biases in selection based on race or ethnic (particularly Latino groups) characteristics are widely identified by the offended groups, but seldom recognized by majority groups. Many artists feel that this preconceived exclusionary policy keeps them from exposure to the money markets necessary to produce economic artists. Minority galleries simply do not provide that kind of exposure. Female artists were more likely to perceive selection bias based on gender than were male artists or exhibitors, but this was not a universal feeling and often was not raised as an issue in our discussions. There was also considerable difficulty in identifying how this bias was implemented.

What exhibitors see as valid criteria for the selection of works to show in their spaces, many artists see as forms of discrimination against the particular medium, style, or art form used by the artist. Commercial dealers may look for work that meets certain aesthetic criteria and marketability for a given audience. Artists often see this as a narrow perspective and selling out to "commercialism." When pressed, the same artists will admit that gallery directors also have a right to make choices, but that the choices seem to tend toward safe, "mainstream" art which is not what they (the artists) really want to do. Among artists rejecting the gallery system, the most likely were those whose work could be described as radically different in approach, style, or medium.

Other artists also felt they had less than an equal opportunity to exhibit their work at the level they thought appropriate. Sculptors and photographers, for example, usually thought they had fewer opportunities to exhibit their work. Less experienced artists, those with little or no exhibition history, often felt discriminated against because many exhibitors demanded "previous experience" before the artist could be accepted for exhibition. They felt "quality" should be the first criterion. In the words of some more experienced artists, they were unwilling to "wait their turn". Still another external biasing factor is the degree to which location is a factor in the exhibitor's decision. Among artists it is widely felt that out-of-town artists often have an advantage in local galleries, particularly more prestigious galleries and museums, because of the kind of exoticness which exhibitors are thought to feel attracts local audiences and/or buyers.

Any exhibition biases based on selection criteria, artistic style, and even demographic characteristics, may be equaled or surpassed by those created by the process in which artists attempt to find exhibition spaces and exhibitors attempt to find artists. The exhibitor's quest is characterized by three general approaches: 1. open competition; 2. the use of personal sources or networks; and 3. artist initiated contact. Probably the most commonly used technique for identifying artists to show is to use personal sources or networks. Such sources can include: (a) artists; (b) museum curators or commercial dealers; (c) critics; (d) art teachers; (e) personal friends; or (f) any other trusted informant about the current art scene. It may also include personal search -- trips to other shows, group shows, art studios. If, as we suggest, this is by far the most commonly used approach to the selection of artists for future shows, then it becomes very important for the artists to make themselves part of these networks. Many artists balk at such a prospect. Others profess not to know how to take advantage of such a system. Still others find cliques which seem relatively closed, therefore limiting their opportunities for exhibition. Artists who rely on their own initiation of exhibitor contact generally think most exhibitors are unreceptive to new work and often inhospitable to new artists. They complain that appointments are difficult to obtain and, once they are obtained, often result in awkward and strained meetings. Exhibitors offer neither exhibition space nor feedback on the work.

Selling Art

The logical extension of exhibiting work is selling it. While not all exhibition is directed toward sales, and not all sales occur as a result of public exhibition, they are obviously strongly related.

While having a dealer or agent tends to increase exposure and save the artist's time, it also creates some problems. Most of these problems concern the relationship between commercial galleries and artists; what kind of agreement is negotiated; what percentage does the gallery keep; who is responsible for promotion; does the gallery have exclusive rights to an artist's work; how does the gallery take care of works in its possession; what is the gallery's responsibility with regard to shows, etc. Not all these concerns relate directly to selling, but they do related to the success an artist may have in finding and keeping a relationship with a gallery. Probably a majority of gallery owners feel artists are unbusinesslike and not able to properly manage the business side of their art. This situation is an irritant to some and an opportunity to "mother" the artists for others.

In a market economy, price is a negotiated balance between demand and supply. Many artists view price as a reflection of their own worth as artists, which does not always correspond with the demand for their work. This means they price themselves out of the market. Others include time and materials calculations in their prices. This may also have the effect of prices which the market will not support. Yet, both of these approaches seem to be reasonable. For younger artists especially, there are serious problems in achieving these pricing objectives. While the former approach, self-evaluation, may be tempered by advice from individuals, it is difficult to argue that the artist should be pricing works at less than its costs, in time and materials, to produce them. It is this situation that leads many artists to argue for outside (governmental) support for artists. Insofar as artists must do other things to support themselves, because the market prices for their art will not support them, they are distracted from the development of their work. Even with a long history and a well established price basis, there is no guarantee that a particular work or series of works will sell. Thus, experienced, well established artists may have the same problem supporting themselves as less experienced artists. The price-related problem this creates centers around a widely accepted principle that artists should not roll back prices (or discount for that matter) in order to solve immediate market problems.

Other Practical Problems

Some more practical problems transcend the three basic categories. These problems are related to general living conditions in which artists represent nearly unique situations. Included in issues raised by artists were taxes (especially deduction for losses of the artist's own works), unemployment compensation, medical and other insurance, legal support, and, an issue which concerns the working of the art community, the lack of strong artist organizations.

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

This section provides an overview of basic demographic and artistic characteristics of our sample. The socio-demographic characteristics examined here include: age; professional age*; gender; ethnicity and race; number of dependents; art education; and regular education. The distribution for each characteristic was presented for the combined samples and for each city. In an attempt to obtain some idea of the character of the art created by each respondent we also asked the artists to indicate their art form and any additional characteristics of their art they wished to provide.

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*The length of time the respondent has been a practicing visual artist.

Age: All respondents are 18 or older with an overall median age of 38 years. Washington, DC, artists are somewhat older (median age of 43 years) and Houston artists are somewhat younger (median age of 36 years). While Washington, DC, artists are older, they are not likely to have more experience than artists in the other cities. San Francisco artists are more likely to have over ten years experience (63 percent) than artists in any of the other cities (52 percent or 53 percent). In Washington, DC, artists seem to start later. In San Francisco, the core of professional artists seems to be somewhat more established. In Houston, the younger chronological age and medium professional age suggests artists start art careers somewhat sooner than in the other cities. Houston also is characterized by a more mobile artist population, with a larger proportion of the exhibiting artists likely to be recent arrivals in the area.

Gender: For the total sample the division is virtually even between men (49.2 percent) and women (50.8 percent). However, the individual cities have greater differences. Washington, DC, has the widest difference with 65.8 percent women and only 34.2 percent men. Only Minneapolis reflects possible biases in favor of men projected by many artists during the course of our discussions. Many female artists described selection biases which suggested that our sample would be heavily weighted in the direction of male artists (because it includes only those who have previously exhibited). The failure to find these differences at this level of analysis is partially the result of differences in survey response rates. For example, the population of Washington, DC, artists used to draw the sample had about 58 percent women and 42 percent men. The 65.8 percent women among those returning questionnaires indicates that women were more likely than men to respond to the survey. Assuming that this position held for the other cities, it appears that in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Houston men were more likely to have exhibited.*

Ethnic and Racial Characteristics: Our results show a higher proportion of non-whites, 8.9 percent, than exist among painters and sculptors (7.5 percent) and among photographers (8.8 percent) in 1970.** City distributions show expected concentrations of minority artists, Blacks in Washington, DC, and Houston, Hispanics in Houston, and Asians in San Francisco. Despite some difficulties in exhibiting, the proportion of Blacks in Washington, DC, and Hispanics in Houston probably constitute a larger percentage of exhibited artists than are represented in our results. The reason for this underrepresentation is largely accounted for in the difficulties encountered in identifying those artists who had exhibited in minority-oriented galleries in each city. These figures also do not represent any selection bias which may exist in the exhibition of minority artists. Both Black artists in Washington, DC, and Hispanics in Houston argued that such biases exist and that any list based on exhibition record would underrepresent the number of practicing minority artists in those cities. In Houston, the Hispanic artists we talked to felt that it was easier for them to exhibit in other areas than in Houston.

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*Of course, we have no indication of the number of men and women who tried, but failed, to exhibit during the three-year period being studied. Thus, the comments of some artists are the only evidence of discrimination based on gender.

**See NEA, 1978.

Education: Our data show a relatively high level of formal art education among professional artists. Almost one-third of the artists have at least a Master's Degree in Art, while only 7 percent indicated that they had no formal art education. A slightly higher percentage of the artists claim advanced and bachelor degrees in their formal education indicating that only a small percentage of the professional artists are trained in other areas. San Francisco artists are significantly more likely to have a Master's Degree than artists in other cities (43.8 percent to 26.0 percent, 31.1 percent, and 27.8 percent).

Art Form

One of the most difficult conceptual tasks in this study was to find a generally acceptable means to classify artists in terms of the kind of work they do. Any classification scheme would have an impact on the outcome of analyses on which it was based. Yet, it seemed clear that exhibitors made distinctions among different types of art in the work they showed. In some instances the distinction was based on medium, e.g., clay or fabric. In other cases a construct like "style" was invoked. For example, some galleries show only "abstract" art and others concentrated on "Western realism". As a compromise, we used two questions to attach this issue in the survey: the first was a closed question which required the artists to choose their "art form" from among thirteen categories; and the second was an open-ended question which simply asked the artists to "characterize" their work. The art form categories used were: painting; sculpture; printmaking; drawing; photography; video; film/sound; conceptual; environmental; performance; craft related; multiple forms; and other.

About one-third of the artists describe themselves as painters. The next largest group (20.9 percent) say they used "multiple forms" in their work. Next came sculptors (13.5 percent) and photographers (10.0 percent). Several categories, representing those artists who were working in newer non-traditional forms (video, conceptual, performance, and environmental) were combined because of the small numbers represented in each of the separate groups. They represent 3.1 percent of the sample. It is from this group, however, that the greatest relative number of complaints about how the selection system works was heard. Printmakers (6.5 percent) and drawers (4.1 percent) constitute relatively small proportions of the total number of professional artists. There are remarkably few differences in the distribution of art forms among the four cities.

Art Form and Demographics

Painters tend to be somewhat older than the average and are particularly unlikely (only 11.5 percent) to be in the youngest age category. Thus it appears that new artists are less likely to become painters. Artists working in new areas, e.g., video, conceptual, performance, environmental, and installation, are much younger than the average. Almost one-third are under 30 and fully 80 percent are under 40. This reflects the newness of some of the forms and perhaps a tendency of younger artists to gravitate to these forms. However, it should be remembered that this group constitutes only about 3 percent of all exhibited artists. Photographers and drawers are much younger. Sculptors and printmakers are closer to the overall averages.

The overall weighted distribution for gender is 48.8 percent male and 51.2 percent female. Females are substantially overrepresented among printmakers (61.8 percent), drawers (58.5 percent), crafts people (62.9 percent), and "multiple form" artists (64 percent). They are underrepresented among photographers (32.4 percent). The remaining art forms are distributed relatively close to the overall distribution (within 5 percentage points).

Ethnic/racial groups were combined into two categories--nonwhite (9.5 percent) and white (90.5 percent)--for this analysis. Nonwhites are underrepresented (less likely to work) in the following art forms: sculpture (4.3 percent), printmaking (5.1 percent), and crafts (0.0 percent). There tend to be more minorities who are drawers (16.8 percent). In the remaining art forms proportions follow population figures.

Finally, four categories of art education were used to distinguish artists: Masters Degree; Bachelors Degree; some classes; and no formal art training. The overall proportion in each group is 32.3 percent, 31.5 percent, 29.2 percent and 7.0 percent, respectively. There is wide variation in this distribution across different art forms. Printmakers (47.1 percent) and new form artists (55.3 percent) are significantly more likely to have a Masters Degree. Drawers (19.6 percent) and "multiple form" artists (13.1 percent) are significantly less likely to have a Masters Degree.

ECONOMIC AND WORK CONDITIONS

We examine basic economic and working conditions which characterize artists in the four cities studied. Economic conditions are described in two general categories: 1. the amount of money coming in, i.e., income; and 2. the amount of money going out or expenditures. The analysis of income will include total household income, the artist's share of total income, and the various components (sources) of income, including: income from the sale of art; income from grants and awards; income from art-related jobs; and income from nonart-related jobs. The construct "support system" will be used to discuss various factors relating to the proportion of total support the artists provide for themselves. Working conditions imply two areas of interest. The first is the type of employment pursued by artists when they are not doing art and how these conditions relate to art form and time devoted to art production. The second is the level of effort devoted to the production and marketing of art. The use of time for these purposes is a function of external factors, like jobs, family obligations, and studio space, and internal decisions (the amount of time artists *want* to spend doing their art).

Income

Median income is reported at slightly less than $20,000 for the entire sample. This level of income does not distinguish the artists from a national nonartist sample in a meaningful way, except that artists tend to be somewhat better educated than average. There is substantial variance among cities. Washington, DC, artists have a median income of about $23,000, while San Francisco artists have a median income of about $15,000. Houston and Minneapolis artists fall about half way between.

The artist's contribution to total household income is classified into four categories: (1) low artist contribution (0 to 15 percent); (2) medium low contribution (16 to 49 percent); (3) medium high contribution (50 to 84 percent); and (4) high contribution (85 to 100 percent). Almost one quarter of the artists contribute less than 16 percent of their total household income. At the other extreme, almost 40 percent of the artists are substantially self supporting, contributing 85 percent or more of their household's total income. Washington artists are much more likely to be in the low contribution category, while San Francisco artists are much more likely to appear in the high contribution category.

Five categories were used to describe personal earnings: (1) income from the sale of the artist's work (including the amount paid as a commission to a dealer); (2) income received for commissioned work; (3) income from grants and awards for the art work; (4) income from salaries and wages for art-related jobs; and (5) income from salaries and wages from nonart-related jobs. The first three categories are combined to form the artist's Art Income. Over one quarter of the sample, 26.1 percent, reported earning no income from sales, commissions, or grants and awards during 1978. An additional 32.3 percent earned $1,000 or less from these sources. The median art income was $718. It is clear from these figures that using exhibitions as the basis for defining professional artists describes a population whose artistic production has little to do with how they survive. If we were to use a figure of $10,000 as indication of earning a marginal income for a family of two, only 8.5 percent of the artists would reach this level on the basis of gross art sales. This does not include the cost of producing the work.

There are significant differences among the cities. Washington, DC, artists earned least from their work, almost two-thirds earned $1,000 or less, while San Francisco (14.6 percent) and Houston (9.7 percent) artists were most likely to earn more than $10,000. The median incomes were also higher in San Francisco and Houston, but still reached only to $1,000. Similar differences are reflected in the income earned exclusively from the sale of art, which is the largest contributor to art income. Between 21 percent and 28 percent of the artists in all cities earned nothing from the sale of their art.

A total of 145 artists (15.4 percent) received a grant or award for their art work during 1978. Houston and Minneapolis had about 18 percent each and San Francisco and Washington, DC, had about 12 percent each. The median award was about $365., but there were substantial differences among the cities. The median award in Washington, DC, (about $125) was at least $250 lower than any of the other cities. In San Francisco and Minneapolis, 14.3 percent and 16.7 percent of the artists getting awards received more than $2,500. This amount was awarded to only one of the Washington, DC, and two of the Houston artists. The total amount of money received for awards and grants accounted for only 4.6 percent of the reported art income.

Job Income

The other major sources of personal income are regular jobs. We have distinguished two types: (1) those related to the visual arts; and (2) those unrelated to the visual arts. Almost 60 percent of the professional artists in these cities held some kind of a paying art-related job during 1978. The median income of those holding this type of job was approximately $5,000. This figure is almost seven times as high as the median earned in art income ($718.). However, over 60 percent of these jobs are part-time. Even among teachers, 62.4 percent work on only a part-time basis. Among the relatively small proportion (14.4 percent of all art-related jobs) of art administrators and curators, almost three-fourths are part-time.

Washington, DC, trails the other cities both in the proportion who hold art-related jobs (48.7 percent) and in the median income earned from the jobs held ($3,050). San Francisco (70.4 percent) and Minneapolis (65 percent) are the cities with artists most likely to hold some kind of art-related job. However, San Francisco's jobs apparently pay less or are of shorter duration since the median income in San Francisco is more than $1,500 less than in Minneapolis. Whatever the distribution across cities, it is clear that art-related jobs are a major contributor to the economic well being of professional artists (far beyond the economic contribution of their art). Furthermore, the fact that much of this work makes a direct contribution to the development (teaching) or promotion (art administration and curatorial jobs) of additional art, adds credibility to the argument that these jobs constitute a kind of patronage system which is funded largely through public (governmental) agencies.

The second job category includes those occupations which are non art-related. Using reported income figures, 42.4 percent of the responding artists held nonart-related jobs of some type during 1978. This is about 17 percentage points fewer than reported income from art-related jobs. These figures suggest that artists are more likely to support themselves by their art income and art-related work than they are by nonart-related work (not counting external support). Interestingly, the median earnings from nonart-related jobs ($4,900) is only $100 less than the median earnings reported for art-related jobs.

Differences among cities are again striking. Washington, DC, has by far the highest median income, $7,085, Minneapolis is a distant second at $4,900, and Houston and San Francisco are both below $3,500. The primary distinguishing characteristic of Washington's nonart job holders is the high proportion (30 percent) who hold professional or technical positions. The second factor is that Washington, DC, is the only city where more than half (56.6 percent) of the nonart employed artists are full-time employees.

Expenditures

Balancing income, particularly art income, are the costs artists must incur in order to produce, exhibit, and sell their work. Professional expenses are grouped into five categories: (1) cost of materials, equipment, and other art production expenses; (2) studio rent and related costs, such as taxes, heat and electricity; (3) exhibition costs, including insurance, travel, shipping, framing, invitations, and exhibit openings; (4) dealer's commissions; and (5) educational and other information expenses, such as classes, art journals, and information services.

The first three expense categories, production, studio, and exhibition, have been combined to form the indicator production costs. The median cost for the weighted sample was $1,450 in 1978. This figure includes 159 respondents (13.6 percent) who indicated no production costs for that period The median production cost is approximately double the median art income ($1,450 to $718) indicating that artists generally earn less from their art than they spend on producing it.

There are substantial differences among artists in each city. Washington, DC, artists, who had the lowest art income, also have the lowest costs (median = $965.50). This suggests a lower activity level rather than lower prices. Minneapolis also has low production costs, but its ratio of income to production costs is closer to one (.750) indicating a somewhat more profitable situation than exists in the other cities (which are all at about .5).

In summary, materials and equipment costs constitute the major portion of production costs. In all cities but Washington, D.C., studio costs are also a significant part of production costs, perhaps one-third. Exhibition costs are relatively even across cities, and they are also a relatively small part of production costs. The expenditure concept was further expanded by adding costs for dealer commissions and educational and information activities to production costs. This produced a total art related cost indicator. Median total art expenditures equaled $1,890 for all artists. The pattern across expenditure categories is very similar to the pattern for production costs. The largest group is from $2,000 to $4,000, and the smallest group is $10,000 and over. Most of the increased expenditure is attributable to dealer commissions, rather than education and information costs. However, only about one-third of all responding artists report paying any commissions in 1978 (321 of 940) and the proportion of reported art income taken in commissions is less than 1 percent for all artists.

Working Conditions

In this section we discuss factors, besides money, which describe the general conditions in which artists work. Two dimensions are included: (1) space to do work; and (2) level of effort.

Working Space

The majority of artists have studios or work in their own homes in all cities. Having a studio at home does not necessarily mean that there are no studio costs incurred by the artist. Substantially fewer artists have no studio costs than had studios in their homes. While there are differences across cities, these differences show no constituent pattern. In particular, there are a few figures which illuminate differences between cities in the areas of income and costs.

Level of Effort

Level of effort is described on two dimensions--time spent in the studio and the distribution of time across various art activities. The distribution of job-time across six categories is surprisingly balanced with a range, for the combined samples, of 11 percent for 41 or more hours per week to 24.8 percent for those working 31 to 40 hours per week. Artists in all four cities have about the same distribution of working time, despite earlier results showing Washington artists with a higher percentage of full-time jobs.

Over 21 percent said they spent 10 hours or less on art work and related activities. Slightly less, 17.8 percent, indicated that they spent more than 40 hours on art-related work. For the entire sample, over half (51.8 percent) said they spent at least twenty-one hours per week (equivalent to a half-time job) on their art-related work.

Differences among cities follow both art income and production cost figures presented earlier and help explain some of these variations. Washington, DC, and Minneapolis artists, who are likely to have lower art incomes and lower costs, spend less time on art-related activities than artists in San Francisco and Houston, (46 percent of the Washington, DC, artists and 43.5 percent of the Minneapolis artists devote more than twenty hours per week to art, while 58.4 percent of the San Francisco artists and 62.8 percent of the Houston artists devote that much time). On the whole, artists from the cities with more income and costs are more active than the artists from other cities. While this "accounts for" the difference, it does not explain why such a difference in level of effort should exist.

Art-related time was further refined with a question on the estimated time spent actually producing art. This indicator of art activity eliminates time spent selling, preparing work for shows (framing, etc.), and discussing art, and focusses on the time spent doing art (production time). Slightly more than a quarter (28.1 percent) of the artists claim ten hours or less during each week are spent producing art. About the same number (26.9 percent) indicate they spent more than thirty hours per week.

Our results show a clear relationship in which artists who spend less time producing art are less likely to earn substantial sums for their work, while those who spend more time are more likely to earn high art incomes. That this relationship is not clearly causal is demonstrated by the substantial number of exceptions. During 1978, 26.6 percent of those who spend 31-40 hours per week and 20.7 percent of those who spend over 40 hours per week received $500 or less dollars for their efforts. Thus, two main groups of artists were identified: a large group whose reward is proportional to their effort (in terms of the rather small amounts generally received by artists), and a smaller group who devote substantial time but receive very small rewards.

As with income, the expected positive correlation between time and cost is evident. Those who spend little time have low costs, and those who spend more time have higher costs.

The final factors considered at this point in our discussion are gender and race. The slight lag in the art income of female artists can be at least partially explained by the smaller amount of time they spend producing art. The previously discussed positive relationship between income and studio time suggests that the time use situation accounts for some of the male-female differences in income.

In this section we examine the relative use of time on two dimensions--the amount of time devoted to the production of art for show or sale, and the amount of time devoted to experimentation with new ideas or techniques. Because of expected difficulties in recalling exact times, artists were asked to indicate only the relative amount of time spent in these areas: Most, Some, Little, or No Time. For slightly over half (54.1 percent) the artists producing work for sales and shows is the most important activity. In comparison, a little more than one quarter (27.4 percent) spend most of their time experimenting.

Those artists who devote most time to production are likely to have higher incomes than those who devote less time to production. Thus, the distribution of time in the direction of production also seems to increase earning potential. However, we are still left with the significant question of why some artists choose a production-oriented mode, while others prefer to spend most of their time experimenting. Among possible explanations are the experience level of the artists, the career cycle of the artists, and the quality of the work.

OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS: EXPOSURE

The major component of exposure is public exhibition or shows in which artists participate. The kinds of public shows artists had during the period of 1975 to 1978 were categorized in terms of: (1) the type of exhibition space in which shows were held; and (2) the number of people in the show, namely one person shows, small group shows (2-5 people) and large group shows (6 or more people). The former category will be referred to as location and the latter will be called the type of show. The categories of spaces include: (1) museums; (2) private commercial galleries; (3) libraries (with regular art exhibition facilities); (4) cooperative galleries (those owned and run by artists); (5) "alternative spaces;" and (6) all other types of spaces. The most common type of exhibit in all locations is a large group show. One person and small group shows are less common, reflecting the prestige associated with showing alone or with only a few others at any space. However, the distribution of show types is not the same for each location. Alternative space shows are least common for all types of shows. and somewhat less common than museum shows. Thus, what is generally considered to be the most prestigious location for a show is not the least frequent. This reflects both the number of spaces and newness of many of the alternative space and cooperative galleries.

There are also significant differences in exhibition patterns among cities. San Francisco artists are more likely to have exhibited in museums and to have had a one-person or small group show in a museum. This difference parallels previously discussed economic and experience differences between San Francisco artists and those from other cities. Washington, DC, artists are least likely to have had a museum show. Despite the many museums in Washington, only one demonstrates consistent loyalty to local artists and even this is somewhat infrequent. Overall, public space shows are more common in Minneapolis. San Francisco artists are slightly more likely to have had private gallery shows, while Minneapolis artists are slightly less likely. Minneapolis seemed to have a somewhat lower ratio of galleries to artists than the other cities, which might explain part of the difference. The most likely type of show for Minneapolis artists is in public spaces (universities, colleges, libraries, and public outdoor spaces). San Francisco and Houston artists were less likely to have had shows in cooperatives than artists in other cities, but somewhat more likely to have had shows in alternative spaces.

In our analysis, exhibition record is an important part of our attempt to understand the artists' situation, the process by which artists exhibit their work, and the economic conditions under which artists operate. It is also an important factor in its own right, because it provides a summary of an important part of the artist's professional life. An exhibition record contains 3 components: (1) the type of exhibition; (2) the type of space for each exhibition (location); and (3) the quality of the space. Because we were interested in some indication of the quality of an artist's exhibition record, we developed one measure which includes number of shows, type of show and location from the exhibition histories collected in our survey. The qualitative aspects of this measure are weights which are applied to type of show and location. This indicator is termed the weighted exhibition record. A more neutral approach uses a technique called cluster analysis to group artists according to their combined exhibition records. The clusters describe artists who had exhibited in the same locations, with the same types of shows (one-person, etc.,) approximately the same number of times.

Each cluster is defined below:

1. Artists in the first cluster have few exhibits in any category. The group is probably composed of a mixture of artists, most of whom are not very successful and/or are very inexperienced. 35.1%*

2. The second cluster is composed of relatively active artists with most exhibits in large group museum and private gallery shows, and with a greater than average number of exhibits in one-person public space shows, and small group museum, private gallery and public space shows. These artists seem to be in the middle range of experience and exhibition success. They also tend to exhibit in the more traditional spaces. 12.6%

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* Percent of all artists.

3. These are very active artists with many exhibits in large group museum and private gallery shows, more than an average number of one-person public gallery shows and small group museum, private gallery and public gallery shows. They are most distinguishable, however, in that they have three-times the average number of one-person shows. The exhibition pattern suggests that they are probably more traditional in their approach to art (as distinguished from Group 8 below). 5.7%

4. That particular combination of exhibitions in this group suggests that they are largely cooperative artists. The major exhibition type is a large group alternative space and cooperative galleries. The second most common type is large group museum, public and private galleries. They are also more likely than average (about 2-times) to have had one person or small group shows in alternative spaces or cooperatives. With the exception of large group shows, these artists have not had great success in the traditional prestige spaces. 5.7%

5. The dominant exhibition type of this group is in one-person and small group shows in public spaces. The most common public spaces, using our definition, are university galleries and libraries with regular galleries. 7.7%

6. The dominant exhibition mode of this group is in "other" spaces. They are also more likely to have had large group shows in the remaining types of spaces. "Other" spaces include art fairs, mall shows, and such non-traditional spaces as banks and restaurants. These artists are also more likely to have exhibited in large group cooperative and alternative spaces. This pattern suggests a combination of younger artists and craft oriented artists. Because our sample underrepresented craft artists and did not seek artists who use "other" types of spaces, this group is small, N=31. 3.3%

7. These artists have the single outstanding characteristic of having had more large group shows in museums, public spaces or private galleries. Such a pattern suggests traditional artists with less experience or general success, but who have had more success than the artists in Group 1. The size of this group (N=165) shows a pyramiding of success patterns with the least successful group (Cluster 1) having the largest number of artists (N=330) followed by the present cluster (N=165), artists in Cluster 2 (N=118), artists in Cluster 9 (N=90), artists in Cluster 3 (N=54) and artists in Cluster 8 (N=12). 12.6%

8. These are the most active exhibitors in our sample. They are more likely to have shows in all types of spaces and shows. The high number of cooperative/alternative space shows may indicate that this group is more likely to include very successful *avant garde* artists. 1.3%

9. Artists in this group seem capable of obtaining good shows, small group shows in museums, and one person or small group shows in private galleries, but perhaps are not as active as other artists. 9.6%

10. The final group of artists is substantially more likely to have had one-person or small group shows in "other" spaces, and slightly more likely to have had large group shows in museums, public or private galleries. This pattern suggests less experienced artists (exhibiting in banks, restaurants, etc.) and a traditional approach to their art (not radical or experimental). 1.5%

Exhibition Pattern and Individual Differences

Subsequent analyses examined the relationship of exhibition record, as measured by weighted exhibition record and cluster membership, and individual characteristics, specifically art form and demographics. The distribution of art forms across exhibition clusters generally support cluster definitions. Printmakers, for example, appear in clusters defined as traditional, with the exception of a substantial group (16.1%) who are likely to have exhibited in cooperative or alternative spaces. They are also least likely to appear in the low exhibitions cluster (Cluster 1). Almost half of the drawers (46.6%) and more than 40% of the sculptors, photographers and new forms artists are in the low exhibitions cluster. This outcome supports other results based purely on the number of exhibits. Painters, whose work may show the wide variety of approaches, appear more equally distributed across all clusters than any of the other groups. Relatively more craft artists (14.2%) appear in the "other" spaces clusters (6 and 10) than any of the other art form groups. "New form" artists (10.9%) and photographers (10.0%) are most likely to be in the Cluster 5 which is oriented toward alternative spaces and cooperatives. These results provide substantial overall support for the idea that art form is a significant contributor to the artist's exhibition patterns -- both where they exhibit and how often they exhibit.

As in our earlier examination of income by gender, women fall somewhat behind men in the level of their exhibitions (WER). About a quarter (24.9%) of the male artists appear in the 0 - 10 category, while 39.5% of the female artists are in this group. At the upper end of the scale the difference is smaller, 13.0% of the men have a score of 41 or more to 9.3% of the women, suggesting that while some women can be very successful, more are likely to be unsuccessful. The fact that women have somewhat less experience is one factor explaining why women are somewhat less successful in exhibiting. However, the experience factor does not appear strong enough to explain all of the differences. Women are dominant in only one cluster, 4, whose artists are most likely to have exhibited in large group cooperative or alternative space shows. We interpret this result to demonstrate the predominance of women in artist cooperatives.

There is no statistically significant relationship between race and weighted exhibition record.

At the extremes, a higher level of art education is generally indicative of a more advanced exhibition record.

Exhibition Pattern, Selection, and Sales

In this section we begin to expand our examination of factors which may be related to exhibition pattern by analyzing how the artists were selected to show their work and how they sell their work. The sale of work is divided into three general categories, through a dealer or agent, by the artist, or through other means. In the survey, method of sales covered all works sold during the 1978 calendar year.

For the purpose of this analysis, we have defined three general methods of selection:

1. The first is an open method in which the artist initiates the process. Included in this category are entering juried competitions or nonjuried shows, becoming a member of a cooperative (where shows are guaranteed), arranging an exhibit at a nontraditional space, arranging a show in a commercial gallery, and paying for (renting) the space to have a show. 2. The second method is by invitation and is less open because it is initiated by the exhibitor. 3. The third general method is through an agreement with an exhibitor (dealer) for regular shows.

The distribution of the methods of selection for the artists' most recent exhibit shows slightly over 10% of the sample artists have agreements with galleries or dealers. About equal proportions had their last show by invitation (43.5%) or through open competition (46.1%). Those artists with lower weighted exhibition scores are more likely to have been selected through some type of open competition.

Another factor in our composite description of artists and their socioeconomic environment is the sale of art works, particularly the mechanism used to sell. We have distinguished three basic ways to sell art: (1) through a dealer or agent; (2) direct sales by the artist; and (3) by a collection of other means, including commissions, through a collective, an unofficial agent (such as a friend), etc. Individual sales are the most common mechanism when few (less than 10) works are sold. For 10 or more works, selling through a dealer is equally as important. Thus, those artists who are more successful in selling are equally as likely to do so through a dealer as on their own. This suggest that artists selling through cooperatives and by commissions are likely to sell only a few pieces, while those who sell many pieces do so through indirect sales.

The distribution of sales methods across cities is reflected in the use of sales representatives also. Fifty-four point two percent of the San Francisco artists had one or more sales representatives, compared to 50 percent in Houston, 40.9 percent in Washington, DC, and 36.2 percent in Minneapolis. These figures reflect several of the earlier results which showed Washington, DC, and Minneapolis artists behind the other cities with regard to the exposure and commercial success of their work.

Economic Conditions, Working Conditions and Pattern of Exhibition

Income: In this section, we expand our analysis of economic and working conditions to include their relationship to exhibition pattern. As the level of exposure increases, so does art-generated income. Generally, artists must expose their work in order to sell it. While this relationship was very regular, it was not strong enough (the contingency coefficient for this table is .39) to ignore the impact of other factors. In those clusters which imply a level of exhibition, clusters 1, 2, 3 and 8, the association between higher income and higher exhibit level is repeated. Almost three-fourths of cluster 1 artists (with few exhibitions of any type) earned less than $1,000 for their art in 1978. Artists who tend to exhibit in large group shows in cooperatives or alternative spaces (cluster 4) tend to earn much less from their art. This suggests that the traditional exhibition pattern (commercial galleries and museums), even at the level of large group shows, has more positive economic outcomes than the cooperative/alternative space alternatives. Public gallery artists (cluster 5) even when they participate in one-person small group shows, also tend to be near the bottom of the art income scale.

Expenditures: It is not surprising to find that as the weighted exhibition level increases, so do production costs (contingency coefficient equal .405). This association suggests an interesting three-way relationship between effort, costs and exhibition success. Those artists who show less do not seem to put as much effort (as measured by production cost) as those who show more. Part of the difference may be the result of having less money and/or time to devote to their art. Part may be lack of interest. Still another explanation is the lack of positive feedback, in the form of recognition or money, for earlier efforts, i.e., those who are successful at exhibiting or selling are likely to do more.

Space: More than two-thirds (68.1%) of the artists with no studio space have a weighted exhibition record of 10 or less. As weighted exhibition record increases, the likelihood of having space at home decreases. Exhibition success is to some degree associated with the location of studio space. Artists with greater exhibition success are much more likely to have a studio space and that space is more likely to be outside their own home.

Level of Effort: There is a weak but statistically significant positive association between weighted exhibition record and time spent on art activities, i.e., artists who are more successful are likely to spend more time on art activities. For example, 45.5 percent of those who spend up to 10 hours on art activities are in the lowest exhibition category, while only 6.7 percent and 8.8 percent of this group are in the two highest exhibition categories. There is an interesting balance, however, in the high effort categories. For artists who spend 31 - 40 hours and over 41 hours per week on their art work, there is little difference across exhibition groups. This suggests a nonsymetric relationship in which an artist must work hard to be successful, but working hard does not guarantee success.

Employment Condition: We speculated that holding an art-related job might be an important element in an artist's success. However, the difference between full- and part-time art and nonart jobs did not influence weighted exhibition record. On the other hand, our results suggest that holding any art-related job may be an advantage to the artist. There is a tendency for artists holding art-related jobs to have a better WER than artists who do not hold such jobs.

OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS II: THE EXHIBITION PROCESS

Because exposure is regarded as the focus of the artistic occupation and the primary basis for social definition of who is an artist, examining the dynamics of getting exhibited is a critical analytic step. In general terms, our hypothesis is that, other factors notwithstanding, the actions (beyond creating the art) taken by artists to have their work exhibited will have some effect on their success. These actions have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. It is not only the amount of energy put into artists' attempts to exhibit their work, but the specific types of actions, and thoughts that drive those attempts, which can make the difference between success and failure. Our discussions with exhibitors suggest strategies for getting exhibited that extend beyond letting the art speak for the artist. Some artists, particularly those who are very successful, may make little effort because exhibitors come to them. Their only real exhibition problem is attempting to move into a higher level market. Less successful artists must engage in more positive activity in order to promote their careers. Their success may depend on their ability to understand the market they are entering and interact with the primary gatekeepers of that market, the exhibitors. In this analysis, we describe what artists do to get work exhibited, their efforts, and the factors they consider when they decide where and how to look for exhibition space, considerations. Considering different factors implies information about the specific elements being considered, therefore our analysis includes the information networks used to inform those considerations. Finally, artists are thought to concern themselves with more than the immediate production of their art. In order to describe the relationship between doing art and other art-related activities, we will examine the art-related topics pursued by artists and the information sources for those topics.

Efforts: Cluster analysis techniques were used to identify groups of artists who used similar efforts to get exhibited. This analysis shows that there are few artists who rely on a single technique for getting their works exhibited. The only group of this type are those artists, comprising 8.7% of the sample, who indicate that they exhibit almost exclusively by invitation. Based on the size of the groups, the most common approach is eclectic. While showing some degree of specification, artists in three clusters (almost 60% of the total) tend to use all of the techniques with greater than average frequency. Discounting invitations, which presumably require little or no real effort by the artists (aside from doing their work), these artists also represent an active element in the art community. Even though some of the techniques are infrequently used, these artists clearly apply much more effort to get exhibited than artists in other groups. However, the breadth and level of activity does not necessarily indicate success. Artists using invitation or dealer agreement may be more "successful" despite being less active.

Considerations: Successfully obtaining a show is much more complicated than calling an exhibitor for an appointment or showing a gallery owner. A major complaint of exhibitors is that artists present work for review which is entirely inappropriate for the space being solicited. Using the wrong criteria or making the wrong choice may greatly reduce an artist's chances of exhibiting, if for no other reason than a substantial amount of time may be wasted looking in the wrong place. This raises the issue of what factors artists consider when they are choosing spaces in which to show their work. In order to examine all the considerations simultaneously, so that the artists' approach can be characterized across all factors they may be considering when choosing potential exhibition spaces, the cluster analysis procedures were applied. In the analysis of considerations responses across 14 categories were used to identify seven groups of artists who had similar patterns. Overall the results of this cluster analysis are less satisfying than the analyses of efforts because the clusters are not as focussed in groups of consideration factors and are more focussed on the number of considerations. Some artists seem to think about a wide variety of factors and to give each of these factors significant weight in their decision process. Taken literally, this represents a very complex thought process and we might expect to find it represented among more sophisticated and experienced artists. Other artists seem to consider most of the items, but only intermittently. With these artists it is impossible to predict, on the basis of our data, what combination of factors may be considered at any given instant. In these groups we might expect to find artists who do not really think much about how they attempt to get their work exhibited and perhaps very inexperienced artists.

Sources of Information: In this section we examine the sources of information about each consideration. Use of any factor in making an exhibition decision is dependent upon information. The complexity of the considerations suggest that artists with "good" information sources will have an advantage in finding appropriate exhibition spaces. Although there is much variation across information categories, the clear leader among outside information sources is other artists. A total of 65.8% of all artists cited this source. A similar proportion (64.6%) cited personal knowledge as a primary source in one or more consideration categories, although it is not clear how they obtained this knowledge. The next leading source, the intended exhibitor, was cited by only 33.7% of the artists, while the least used source of information, art service organizations, was cited by only 7%.

We also examined the relationship of information sources and consideration categories. Other artists were the primary source of information (from 41.5% to 62.3%) in five consideration categories: whether a space is taking additional artists; an outside recommendation of a space; the reputation of a space; the reputation of a space's staff; and the reputation of the director for working with artists. For each consideration concerned with reputation the artist's personal knowledge was the second most likely source. Artists were their own best source over 60% of the time when considering their compatibility with a space and the quality of other work shown in the space. They were the best source almost half the time (47.1%) when determining if the exhibitor understood their ideals and objectives. The use of other artists and personal knowledge as the primary information sources may reflect a professional and social gap between artists and other art world people. This does not mean isolation, but that relationships seem restricted to the exhibition situation.

The small proportion of artists considering personal relationships in attempting to obtain shows is another indicator of this restriction. The perception of many artists, as reflected in the group discussions, that the artist-exhibitor linkage was almost an adversary relationship, reflects these survey findings; so does the feeling of resentment toward exhibition success which some artists see as the result of personal relationships rather than artistic merit.

Another issue raised by these results is the extent to which artists pursue information in a systematic way. Some information, once obtained, is held without much effort to update or review. This may account for the importance of personal knowledge. Some artists may rely on limited sources, while others pursue a wide variety of sources. We used the cluster analysis to group artists who had different information source patterns. The clusters present relatively clear patterns or networks of information sources for artists. About 1 artist in 8 seems to be essentially a loner, with little reliance on outside information (cluster 2). A similar proportion has a wide distribution of sources (cluster 3). These artists could be classified as the information seekers among artists. A somewhat smaller group (about 1 in 12) is highly reliant on other artists to the exclusion of almost all other sources (Cluster 4). Artists in the fifth cluster, also about 1 in 8, are oriented toward the exhibitor (probably their dealer) more than any other group. They account for most of the use of dealers as an information source. Artists in cluster six use primarily two sources, other artists and personal knowledge. They fall between the extremes, represented in cluster 2 (personal knowledge) and cluster 4 (other artists). Finally, a small group (about 1 in 20) is oriented toward non-artist friends for their considerations information.

Art Topics

A broader dimension of the artist's informational environment includes staying abreast of general artistic developments. While these topics may not directly affect the artists chances for a specific show, they do provide background which may contribute to an understanding of what is happening on the local art scene or the development of the artists' own work. Interestingly, the topic "the system of getting exhibited" receives the least attention, with 45.5% keeping up in this area sometimes or always. Local ideas and development, the local art scene, and shows in important local spaces receive the most attention with over 80% following these areas sometimes or always. In the same sense that artists were the primary source of information about considerations, local art is the primary topic of interest. As with considerations the division of artists on topics is oriented more toward the amount of interest than substantive issues. Artists in clusters 1, 2 and 7 seem to have little general interest in the topics. Artists in cluster 6 have a moderate interest, and those in clusters 3,4 and 5 have a higher, though not identical, level or interest. For some artists the academic topic, as manifested in the art history category, is singled out as uninteresting (clusters 5 and 7). Two groups also are particularly uninterested in the system of getting exhibited (clusters 4 and 7). The largest single group (cluster 3) including over 30% of all artists, is highly interested in all art-related topics. Only one group seems to focus primarily on local topics (cluster 5) and that focus is marginal. A possible national versus local split among artists does not seem to exist, or, if it does, it is so small that it does not show up in our analysis.

We also investigated the sources of information about art-related interests. The grounds for this interest are the same. Information sources help to define the networks in which artists operate and how they use those networks in relationship to their art. Local artists are the primary source for information about the latest ideas and developments of other local artists (34.2%) and the local art scene (33.3%). Local artists are overwhelmingly the most popular source about the system of getting exhibited, 47.8% to only 8.7% for the next most used source (professional meetings). National journals are the most important source on four of the topics: (1) the latest ideas and developments in the major art markets (66.2%); (2) art criticism and aesthetics (47.8%); (3) shows at important national spaces (67.9%); and (4) art history (32.5%). In the first three categories only local papers rivals the national journals as a significant source of information. For art history, local schools (17.3%) and local museums and art centers (13.9%) are also relatively important sources).

For only one topic is a source other than national journals and other artists the most important. Thirty-seven percent of the artists look to local newspapers for information on what is being shown in important local spaces.

Integrating the Exhibition Process

Efforts, considerations, sources of information, and, to some extent, topics and sources of topical information are all dimensions of the process by which artists attempt to have their work exhibited. Efforts are the behavioral component because they represent what artists do to have their work exhibited. Considerations are the cognitive side of the process from the artists' perspective because they represent what the artists are presumably thinking when they choose a particulr strategy for getting their work exhibited. Topics are another cognitive dimension which can inform considerations and the artists' general perspective about art and the art system in which they operate. Information provides the raw material which is combined with perspectives already held, processed, and translated into decisions (behavior). In our analysis, information had two elements, source and breadth. Among factors not represented in this model the most important are the veracity of the artists perception and information about how the system works, and the quality of the artist's work. Much of the artist's perception of how the system works is contained in the choice of considerations, which reflect what artists think is important in getting their work exhibited. Given this simple model of the process we are able to use available data to analyze some of the relationships among its components.

The relationship between considerations and topics of interest represents the cognitive part of the model. The initial significant outcome we noticed is that the majority (52.4%) of those who are disinterested in the various art topics also do not show interest in exhibition considerations.

This relationship is evident elsewhere as well. For example, about a quarter (24.9%) of the artists with low overall interest in topics also pay little attention to most considerations. Artists with high interest in all topics are most likely to consider a wide variety of factors in attempting to find exhibition space. About 40% of the artists with interest only in what is being shown in local shows (a narrow set of interests) also focus their considerations on the quality and reputation of the space being considered. As a general characterization of this relationship it would be reasonable to conclude that broader topical interests are likely to accompany considerations of a large number of factors in choosing possible exhibition spaces.

The second step in our model is the relationship between considerations and efforts. Before examining the empirical relationship we would like to caution that the linkages between elements of these two dimensions may be very complex. An artist may consider many aspects of finding an exhibition space and end up either calling for appointments or waiting for an invitation. The intervening factors include experience, exhibition history, personality, confidence, and possibly even physical limitations (e.g., no car). Over half (57.2%) of the artists who do not consider anything also do not do anything about getting exhibited. Given the similar result in comparing consideration and topics, it seems safe to assume the existence of a block of largely disinterested artists who interact marginally with the broader art system. Further analysis showed that artists who exercise low effort to get exhibited are less likly to put substantial time into their art work (measured in average hours per week).

Artists who wait for invitations do not comprise important parts of clusters which consider a variety of factors. They are more important in clusters of artists who focus on specific aspects of the system, like upcoming events or the reputation of the space. Artists who have or seek agreements with a dealer have a similar, but less pronounced, pattern. For both the invitation and agreement artists a narrower considerations perspective was more likely. On the other hand, artists who may be trying to exhibit across a wider band of alternatives or who have a more competitive exhibition status (i.e., they have no dealer and cannot afford to wait for invitations), are more likely to be represented in the high considerations clusters.

Modes of Operation, Patterns of Exhibition, and Success

The final element in our model of the process of getting exhibited is a problematic outcome, success. All of the activities in which artists engage are directed toward two overlapping goals: exhibiting their work under the most favorable circumstances and selling their work. Therefore, we attempted to tie the process to the outcomes by looking at the relationship of efforts and considerations to exhibition pattern, relative success and income earned from the sale of art.

Artists who are unlikely to consider any factors when attempting to exhibit are also unlikely to have had many exhibits. Artists with a wide range of considerations are likely to have more shows, but they are not more likely to be in other high prestige clusters. The strong relationship between low considerations and exhibition pattern is not complimented by similarly strong relationships between high considerations and more or better exhibits.

The relationship between considerations and the quality of the exposure record is more consistent in the analysis of weighted exhibition record. Those with few considerations are more likely to be in the lower to weighted exposure groups, while those with more and broader considerations interests are more likely to appear in the highest two groups. As previous analysis has shown, part of this relationship seems to be the result of interest. Another factor is time, although it is unclear if the association of time and exposure is the result of limitations placed by jobs or similar demands, or just a function of interest. The causal relationship between considerations and exposure is also unresolved by these data. It is unclear how more or broader considerations could lead directly to more exposure, although it could lead to a different type of exposure, e.g. higher quality exhibits, or, given the same amount of effort, more exposure because efforts were targeted better.

The pattern of exhibitions may also predict the use of information networks (for considerations). Artists who showed little interest in information were most likely (45.5%) to have a very poor exhibition record. Those who relied on non-artists friends and themselves were almost as likely (41.5%) to have a poor exhibition record. The former group may be disinterested, while the latter appears more inexperienced. Artists whose primary source is themselves (self-reliant) are most likely to have shown in large group museums (21.7%), public space or private gallery (16.2%) shows. Artists with the broadest range of information sources are more likely to have had shows in cooperatives, alternative spaces and other spaces.

Most of those who make no effort do not exhibit. A few in each exposure cluster seem to have some success despite little or no effort, probably as a result of reputation and, in some cases, luck. Those whose most important, though still very moderate efforts, are through open competitions and making the rounds (with appointments) of dealers are almost as unsuccessful as artists making no effort. Over half are in the cluster which shows least exhibition success. In addition to being less successful, these artists are somewhat less experienced (in number of years as a professional artist) and somewhat less educated (less likely to have a Master's Degree) than the average artist. Almost 40 percent of those artists whose only "effort" is by invitation have a very poor exhibition record. There were artists in the group discussions who expressed an attitude which may reflect this group. Some were rejecting the "hustling" and commercial aspects of trying to get a show and were resolved to wait for discovery. Others really could not be bothered by trying to exhibit and an occasional call to appear in a show was sufficient.

Despite a strong relationship between exhibition success and some efforts clusters, it is clear that no approach to getting exhibited guarantees success. If the dealer agreement cluster and the no activity cluster are excluded (on the grounds that the former describes an end state rather than a process and the latter represents an absence of activity whose outcome is logically a lack of success, the explanatory power of efforts is significantly diminished. However, efforts still seem to explain more of success than the considerations and information networks, which presumably drive the actions taken by artists to get their work exhibited. Process is clearly involved in success, although we are not yet able to specify to what extent. In the abstract, any system which operates with subjectively defined quality criteria must surely be driven by procedural factors to a large degree. Our results provide some support for this hypothesis, although additional work is required to fully explicate the effect.

Our analysis of the relationship of exhibition patterns and economic success to the process of finding exhibition space suggests fourfold classification of artists. The most successful artists are characterized by high quality shows, high income, an orientation to commercial galleries, self reliance, or exhibitor connections when seeking information, and a moderate but focused used of efforts and considerations. A second group is somewhat less successful, but inclined to try harder. They use a variety of efforts, consider as many factors as possible, are interested in a variety of art-related topics, and use a variety of information sources. They are probably the up-and-coming artists who devote substantial effort to art marketing as well as art production. One might hypothesize that as they attain greater success they will reduce the scope of these marketing activities.

The third group are still less successful but are also probably less experienced than the artists in the first two groups. They look to other artists for information and are more likely to try competitive or cooperative approaches to exhibiting. They cannot command invitations and probably do not have the social skill and experience to successfully use personal relationships. As they develop and if they have some success they will probably move into the second group. When they are generally unsuccessful they may turn inward and become members of the fourth group.

Group four artists are not very successful or interested in the marketing scene. We feel these are unlikely to be the rebellious artists who are rejecting "the system", but, rather, artists whose art work is only marginally public. In this group we expect to find older people who may only recently have turned their hobbies into a moderate exhibition triumph; artists who have never been very successful and, therefore, who now work mainly for themselves; and very new artists, especially those who are self-trained or have only a limited amount of formal art training.

We have described indicators of these types throughout our data analysis, but we also realize that there are a generous number of exceptions - artists who have some of the characteristics but do not fit the exposure and success criteria and artists who have common exposure and success records, but who do not share other characteristics. It is the function of future research to extend these very preliminary analyses in order to understand a greater proportion of the artists population.

ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

In the final chapter we attempt to develop linkages between the problems and behaviors, and to analyze approaches to alleviating some of the problems in the context of the current socio-occupational environment. Our analysis has focused primarily on conditions rather than needs. The difference, as we have defined it, is between what empirically exists - conditions - and what is desirable from the perspective of system participants (artists and exhibitors) or outsiders. The empirical conditions may suggest desirable changes or may be used to support particular goals. In both situations there are assumptions about appropriate end states for artists and the art system. If we analyze empirical results using only end states as the criteria, it would be possible to identify logical changes (improvements) in the system which might facilitate achieving those goals. Such an analysis is logical even though it depends on subjectively chosen goals. It is this approach we will attempt to apply in our final analysis Demands and desires expressed by artists and exhibitors are expressed in eight general dimensions.

(1) There is a desire to put artists on a more stable economic footing. This objective is generally premised on the assumptions that artists are both poor and at a disadvantage in earning an income from their art. It further assumes that it is desirable to facilitate the increased production of art by providing this kind of support.

(2) A second general approach is the expansion of art markets through the use of more art in public settings (buildings, parks, etc.). This approach lets the selection system stand (when viewed as an isolated model), but increased the use of art, and, thereby, expands the opportunity of artists to sell their work.

(3) In an approach which targets showing more than selling, it is argued that efforts should be made to increase the exhibition opportunities of artists. Often this proposal calls for the provision of funds from public agencies to support more museum level exhibitions, although other locations were suggested also. Proponents of this approach argue that it has advantages over direct aid (to the artist) in that it provides broader based support, i.e. more artists can benefit from the same amount of money. However, the extent of the benefit would be much smaller and problematic since selection and sales would still be open issues.

(4) Direct aid is probably still the most popular approach. Many artists feel that this type of support should be increased. Particular variations on this theme include: (a) larger grants; (b) artist selection of awardees; (c) local or regional selection of awardees when the granting agency is national; and (d) procedurally, easing of application requirements. As a corollary to the question of direct aid there is a distinction between individual and institutional support. Many proponents of increased direct assistance to artists were willing to sacrifice institutional aid in order to accomplish their objectives.

(5) There are many more specific economic suggestions which fall primarily into two categories: (a) those which are equivalent to employment benefits; and (b) those having to do with the tax position of artists.

(6) There are two production issues which are related to economic problems. The first is the cost of materials and the second is the availability of working space. In all of our discussions with artists we encountered no specific proposals for alleviating the increasing costs of producing art. Studio space seemed to be of greater concern largely because it was more unstable. Solutions to this problem focus on stabilizing rents or prices of buildings in which artists have studios, usually by government subsidy or through government (public) purchase and dedication to that specific purpose.

(7) The exhibition process includes the actions artists and exhibitors take to get works of art shown in relevant spaces and the factors both groups consider in making decisions about where, what and whom to exhibit. The relevant problems and issues concern system biases in the selection of artists and the interaction of artists and exhibitors. The biases, specified in Chapter 1, are the result of individual characteristics, e.g., gender and race, and/or the style of the artist's work. Stylistic problems center around the willingness of exhibitors to show work which is perceived as radically new or different. Both sides called for increased communication between the groups, although it was our impression that the primary purpose of that exchange would be to educate the artists about appropriate etiquette when trying to get work exhibited. Although there were exceptions, the most acceptable approach was to let the exhibitor initiate the selection process. Most artists, the other hand, were more inclined to use their own initiative because they felt it was the only way to bring their work to the attention of relevant exhibitors. Part of the maturing process for artists seems to be to learn how to use that system. Beyond calls for greater interaction and information sharing between artists and exhibitors, and proposals for formal training about the nuances of getting shows, most of the suggestions for improving the system were directed toward increasing the available exhibition space and the variety of art which is shown. To some extent this demonstrates recognition of the dilemma of exhibitors, especially those who must sell the art they show. However, a common reasoning was based on the assumption that the current system somehow discriminated against qualified artists and that new spaces would be more open to art generally considered noncommercial.

(8) The final general issue receiving significant attention as an approach to the solution of artists' problems was organization within the artist community. Virtually all respondents recognized that attempts to organize artists have been largely ineffective and that artists, as a group, exert little influence in social and political areas which may affect their well-being. In the political realm, especially, the interests of artists are represented largely by nonartist political structures, like the National Endowment for the Arts, and by volunteers, such as some friendly groups of lawyers. Artist organizations, such as Artist Equity, have been active, but largely ineffective in their attempts to attract a large number of professional artists into their ranks. One of the greatest roadblocks to effective organization is the uneven success of artists as a group. Those who are successful in exhibiting and selling their work are less likely to

feel a need for such organization. Yet, they are the more powerful voices coming from the artist community. Part of the problem is the inability of artists to agree on what they want, i.e., what should be the objectives of such organizations? An additional obstacle to organization is the varied occupational structure among artists.

Despite an informal community of artists, which is manifested in our results by the widespread reliance on other artists for art-related information, there is a widespread independence which works against formal organization. There is also an attitudinal variation manifested by a significant group of artists who feel that any attempt to politicize or socialize the art community is both unnecessary and undesirable.

The Interaction of Need and Current Conditions

Art-Related Jobs: About two-thirds of our sample have academic degrees (B.A. or M.F.A.) in art, but only about one-quarter of the artists has a full-time art-related job. A very small percentage earn their living solely from their art sales. Another group, whose exact size is difficult to determine, earns part of their livelihood from part-time art-related jobs and part from the sale of their work. About 7% of the sample hold full-time non-art related jobs and almost 20% receive over 85% of their support from someone else. It might be reasonably assumed that over half of the sample would not be in the market for a full time art-related job. An additional twenty-five (or so) percent already have part-time art-related jobs. Thus, the potential target for newly created full-time jobs would be a maximum of 50% of the artists and probably less than half that number if the jobs were part-time. The content of the jobs is another factor in the potential effectiveness of a job creation program. Some artists are not equipped to undertake employment outside the narrow range of their artistic endeavor. Those without formal art education, for example, may be less flexible. Skill is also a factor when experience enters a possible selection equation. Artists who are younger and less successful are more likely to be in the group who desire artificially created jobs. This suggests a reduced skill level for application to relevant job requirements. Insofar as any program is designed to reduce this problem by using more experienced, better trained artists, it will target artists less in need (economically) of financial aid. Another problem is the source of support income. Many museums and other agencies currently allocate some proportion of their budgets toward the hiring of artists in special jobs. Others look for artists to fill existing regular positions. If we assume that additional jobs will have to come from new money, it is unclear how that money will be supplied. A final issue which should be discussed before job programs are implemented is the expected impact of those programs on the production of quality art. Providing art-related jobs does not seem to inherently guarantee more or better art. An indirect impact could be the expansion of artists' incomes which would then be devoted to producing art, but the payoff of this effect is unclear. It also has been argued that being able to work in an art-related environment may have both psychological and career payoffs, but our data do not permit the evaluation of the former effect and suggest only a moderate payoff from the latter.

Art in Buildings: The dedication of set proportions of public and/or private building budgets to increase the use of art in buildings would not (necessarily) change the selection structure; nor would it mean that a significant proportion of new artists or art would be selected. It is possible to create a scenario in which the same well-known artists became richer, while making little room for newer artists or new art types. The veracity of this scenario would be a function of the extensiveness of the programs and their specific goals. The impact on the style of art selected would be limited by, among other factors, the permanence of the art, the method of selection (e.g., by a panel of artists or by the city council) and the function of the building.

Increasing Exhibition Opportunities: While it is not clear that more exhibition space would lead to more sales, it is clear that greater exhibition opportunity, which was pointed toward increasing the number of artists being shown, as well as the number of pieces by each artist, would provide the opportunity for recognition so desirable to most artists. There are a number of issues which emanate from this basic objective. What kind of space should be provided? Who should provide the space? What kind of art should be shown? Who should select the artists? Who should provide the support? Despite many questions, there were few specific suggestions presented during the course of our discussions with artists and exhibitors, or as a result of the survey. Most people saw a need, but few thought they knew how to fill it. Most suggestions looked for a form of outside support given to increase available space. Support for aid to increase exhibition space was based on the following assumptions: (a) that there were too few spaces currently availabl to show all deserving artists; (b) that the current selection procedure was biased against certain types of art (the "noncommercial" types); (c) that local artist selected works were more likely to be shown; and (d) that support of exhibition space was less costly than direct support of artists (grants, etc.). Assumption (a) will probably always be true, especially in the eyes of artists who are not showing as much as they want. Our data showed that the quality of the space was one of the most important (if not the most important) considerations in seeking a show. Given this consideration, it would seem that artists had specific quality factors in mind when they suggested support for more exhibitions. The general assumption seemed to be that such shows would be competitive and open. This model matched the efforts modus operandi of many of the less successful and moderately successful artists. Many of these artists felt that their work needed only the opportunity of open competition to achieve success. They tended to reject the idea (in the group discussions) and technique (in the survey results) of forming personal relationships to achieve exhibition success. As our survey data show,these ideas were less popular among more successful artists.

The second assumption, biases in selection, was more often implicit than explicit in this context. Many artists viewed private galleries as the bastions of popular commercialized art and looked to increased opportunity in museums, alternative spaces, and public spaces as the champions of new ideas. Space funded from the outside has greater appeal because it is perceived as less constricted by local establishments. It was artists working in new or unusual formats who were most concerned about this particular selection bias. Most artists seemed willing to accept the judgment of fellow artists in the merit of their work more than they were willing to accept dealers' opinions. There seemed to us, however, to be no certainty in the use of outside support to increase exhibition space or the use of artists to select participants that insured the types of selections assumed by many artists. There were few suggestions, for example, on how the juries for such shows should be selected.

The third assumption was that increased space underwritten by national or other outside resources would increase the opportunity for local artists. If such support was specifically aimed at promoting local art this assumption would be true by definition, but there seems to be no such guarantee implicit in the approach. Potential exhibitors, such as musuems or public spaces still must consider regular audiences and long term effects. Such factors may reduce the appeal of funds to sponsor shows of local artists. If there is no audience the show does no good for either the space or the artists. And, it was artists, after all, who were most vocal in their condemnation of the lack of loyalty by local exhibitors and audiences to the work of local artists. This was the major reason (i.e., no local market) cited for looking to other cities for exhibits.

The final assumption, that support of exhibits was more cost effective than direct support, holds that artists would gain a substantial advantage from appearing in such an exhibition and somehow increase their collective stature more than a smaller number would gain from receiving individual grants.

Direct Financial Aid: Artists earn less than the average well-educated workers in the United States. Their income from art is usually only about half of what the expend to produce it. They are usually unable to find full-time work in their chosen profession. And, perhaps most importantly to the artists, the visual arts are a critical component of the cultural fabric of the nation. These are the arguments usually used to justify a demand for increased economic aid to visual artists.

The changes desired are: (a) larger grants because the amount of money generally provided does not really alleviate the artist of basic economic responsibilities; (b) artist selection of awardees to eliminate perceived biases in the current system; (c) local or regional selection committees who are more familiar with local artists and art trends; and (d) a reduction in the complexity of application procedures. Overriding all of these specific suggestions is the assumption of more money than is currently being provided. The fact that, as of the summer of 1981, national level public funds for supporting artists were decreasing, makes some of the specific proposals more difficult and others easier to implement. The National Endowment for the Arts, for example, recently increased average awards to artists despite having lower overall funds. There is also a strong potential for redistributing decision-making functions to regional or state level as more funds are distributed as block grants to state art agencies. The overall level of funds distributed directly to artists, however, seems likely to decrease. Thus, fewer artists will receive grants unless there is a substantial change in the perspective of individuals and corporate patrons or the Endowment and other grant providers redistribute money away from institutions.

Benefits and Taxes: One area where greater consensus exists is the need to "assist" artists in the areas of employment benefits and taxes. Our earlier discussion specified several areas where such assistance, primarily through organization and tax law changes, could be of greatest benefit to artists who are often isolated from the advantages of work oriented organizations and too politically impotent to influence substantial legislation. Our data generally support the "need" for employment benefits, especially among younger artists, but some of the conditions, such as unemployment, are extremely difficult to define and are therefore unlikely to receive much attention at the legislative level, e.g. putting artists on unemployment compensation when they are unable to earn a living by selling their art. Tax law and other legal changes, such as in resale of art, are gradually being made, but much internal disagreement about the impact of such changes has made "progress" very slow.

Costs and Studio Space: Very few artists show a profit from the sale of their art. On the average they spend twice as much for materials as they earn from sales. The second major factor in artists' costs is working (studio) space. Most artists do not have a studio outside their homes and many do not have homes that accommodate an adequate studio. The problem of studio space is both economic, i.e., the artists cannot afford to rent a studio, and physical, adequate space is very difficult to find. The areas cross when artists are forced to vacate good studio space because rents are being increased, usually because urban development is moving into rundown neighborhoods which typify the location of artists' studios in large cities.

Along with employment benefits and tax issues, costs and studio space are problems common to most artists. The high cost of materials is much like inflation; nobody wants it, but there is little anyone can do about it (short of reducing their production). Studio space is an area where more specific proposals were forthcoming. The purchase and conversion of old buildings for multiple studios was the most common. Such purchases would be made by government agencies, at any level, and space would be rented to artists at fixed prices so that the pressure of land values could be ignored.

The Exhibition Process: Most artists attempt to have work exhibited by initiating some form of contact with potential exhibitors. This contact includes entering competitions and various forms of self-initiated direct contact (door-to-door, appointments, etc.). These efforts were more common to less experienced artists, while the more experienced artists were more likely to wait for an invitation, use their personal relationships with exhibitors, or have an agreement with a dealer.

For artists at all experience levels, the most important factor in considering a possible exhibition space was the reputation of the space, the director, or the staff. The second most important factor was their artistic compatibility with what was shown in the space. Exhibitors saw this process as operating somewhat differently. They felt that many artists, even those with prior exhibition experience (like those in our sample) did not sufficiently consider compatibility. This created many awkward interactions between artists and exhibitors and could be the basis for the artists' complaint that many exhibitors were unfriendly, inaccessable, lacked understanding, were too commercial, etc.

The quality issue presents additional opportunity for artist-exhibitor conflict. As mentioned, most artists consider the quality (reputation) of the space as an important exhibition criterion. Artists also seek upward mobility in their exhibitions. If we assume that exhibitors are reasonable judges of the quality of the work they review and that there are always less quality spaces than artists seeking to fill them, the potential for disagreement, accusations of bias, and damaged egos is very large. If most artists seek to improve on their last show, in terms of the quality of the space, only a small proportion are likely to be successful. The charges of commercialism and a variety of other prejudicial selection criteria are a natural outcome of such a process. And, it is not that these charges are entirely unfounded, any more than comments that some exhibitors are not very good judges of artistic talent. However, many, perhaps most, of the artists in our discussion groups, had not fully come to terms with the position of the exhibitors. Exhibitors have particular artistic perspecitives just as the artists do, and these perspecitves control the use of exhibition spaces. When the artist makes a presentation that does not fit that perspecitive (for that space, at that time), they are unlikely to be successful. The artists who are most likely to demonstrate an intellectual understanding (if not agreement) of this problem are those who have had more exhibition success and experience in dealing with exhibitors. They are more likely to see both qualitative and stylistic differences among exhibitors and to understand their position within the system. They are also more likely to have a stable relationship with a dealer and/or to receive invitations to show their work.

In order to combat system biases artists may seek exhibition space by forming their own gallery. Our data indicate that artists who are currently using this option are less likely to have had wide success using the more traditional spaces (e.g. museums and private commercial galleries). Thus artists who are not successful with other gatekeepers turn to other artists and finance their own space. However, these artists generally graduate to more traditional exhibition formats, like commercial galleries and museums, as they continue to expand their artistic careers. That is, cooperatives seem to provide another intermediate step between the student and the successful professional artist. The step may supplement entry into juried competitions and even replace showing in less prestigious commercial galleries, but it does not seem to replace the use of commercial galleries as a stepping stone to greater success.

There is an overlap between the using cooperatives and the use of so-called alternative spaces. The latter type of space is generally dedicated to showing work whose style or other physical characteristics make it unsuitable for showing or unsalable in other spaces. In some instances, a cooperative can accommodate these factors, thus, the overlap. In other instances cooperatives are unable to provide appropriate physical space or financial support (the artist's own) to create or present the work and commercial spaces cannot hope to sell it, in addition to not being able to provide appropriate space or front end support (aesthetic judgments notwithstanding). Under these conditions artists seek alternative means for presenting their work. Because of the physical dimension of the work (or lack of it) and because it usually lies outside traditionally accepted artistic styles, the artists who create such work may develop entirely different carrer patterns than artists who work more traditionally. They may often skip the commercial gallery step altogether and go directly from cooperative or alternative space to museums (the ultimate step).

Still another path to success is the use of exhibition spaces outside local geographic boundaries. As pointed out in earlier discussions, many artists feel that the local environment does not provide sufficient opportunity for exhibition or commercial success (75% of those who attempt to exhibit in other cities cite the limitations of the local environment as the primary factors). Success in exhibiting in other areas is also correlated with local success. Thus, artists considered good in one city are more likely to be considered good in other cities.

Permeating all of these career paths and exhibition process issues are four basic tenets which were manifested in the survey results and group discussions. First, success is not instantaneous or, in most cases, even very fast. Most artists pay their dues and even seem resigned to the fact that success will not come overnight. This means that a continuous struggle to improve one's position with both exhibition and sales opportunities is taking place. Second, the process of achieving success is not neutral (based solely on quality of the art). Assuming that artists are not going to modify their ideals to accommodate the current commercial fads, it still requires a knowledge of how to play the system in order to achieve success. Those artists with the best understanding of how and when to contact prospective exhibitors are more likely to be successful. There are too many artists of similar or equal talent to accommodate all who may be qualified at each level. Third, despite any efforts to force increased levels of spending for art through governmental agencies and even including increased corporate spending, it appears likely that short run future market for art is not going to outstrip the increasing supply of artists. Thus, it seems unrealistic to expect to make a significant impact on the economic condition of artists through the provision of outside aid. Under these conditions artists who want to survive by their art must be even more aware of the role process plays in achieving success.

Finally, there are biases in the system. Minority artists do seem to be systematically excluded, primarily, it appears, on the basis of what exhibitors feel are recognizable stylistic differences in their work. Commercial success is less likely because the economic base for supporting this art is not large enough. Women also may be discriminated against, although this charge is more difficult to substantiate. They lag somewhat behind men in terms of exhibition success, but it is difficult to demonstrate where the biases occur, particularly in light of the fact that, on the average, women seem to devote less time and effort to their art than men and also seem to have come more lately into the field. The greatest bias, however, is probably a stylistic bias. While virtually any type of art can be shown and even sold somewhere, the market for all types is not equal or even distributed in the same proportions that artists produce it. This means artists must be aware of the most likely avenues to success and use them, and perhaps even be prepared to modify their artistic ideals. Under the best conditions most artists are not going to be very successful, certainly not more than an occasional show and sufficient sales to cover the cost of production. Currently, only a small percentage achieve even that amount of economic success.

Organizing Artists: Artists are very likely to rely on other artists for much of their information about exhibiting and selling their art, but they are unlikely to belong to broadly based artist organizations with common goals. Even those artists who do look to other artists for critical information on where to try to show or the quality of a particular space, are likely to be less successful than artists who have learned to rely on their own experience or look to other parts of the art community for their guidance. Thus, the value of personal relationships with other artists diminishes in its importance for career development as success increases.

The most successful formal structure for pulling artists together to achieve exhibition and sales objectives has been cooperatives. Yet, artists who exhibit in cooperatives are not as successful in other areas and generally earn less money from the sale of their art. Cooperatives appear to be one technique for pulling artists through the early or middle stages of a career, but they are not a stable vehicle for long term development.

The fragmented exhibition and selection process also inhibits the organization of artists. There is no common body to strike out against. The federal government is a target on only marginal issues like certain tax problems. The National Endowment for the Arts provides a whipping boy, but its impact on most artists is very small. In addition there are many artists who feel there should be no governmental aid to artists, making organization on this issue difficult. Exhibitors do not provide a good target because they are not organized either. While most of the commercial galleries in a particular city may charge the same or very similar commissions, their approaches, objectives, and other methods of operation vary widely, making it difficult to identify a common target.

While artists have some broadly based common interest, they are also in competition. Unlike members of the United Auto Workers, artists do not all have jobs they are trying to keep and improve. Rather, they are competing for a limited number of scarce jobs and it seems unlikely that full employment for artists will ever be an achievable goal. The artist role is open not only to those who want to earn a living from it, but also to those who want to practice it one a part-time basis or as a hobby. All groups compete for available spaces. In addition, there are no broadly accepted standards on what is good art and what level of quality good artists should demonstrate. Thus, the criteria for defining an artist from a practical perspective rests on exhibition and sales records in a highly fragmented system.

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A variety of people made significant contributions to the development and conduct of the study. In each city, consultants and research assistants organized and carried out plans for identifying artists and conducting group sessions. In Houston, Mimi Webb-Miller was the major consultant and Jean Romeril acted as research assistant. In Washington, DC, Dr. Charles Patrick was our consultant and Mary Strobino was the research assistant. In Minneapolis, Lea Hagoel was the consultant. In San Francisco, Kathy Gurwell and Ricki Kimboll were research assistants.

During the survey portion of the study, research assistants Ann Caggins, Mark Dearfield and Pat McGee helped with data collection. Patricia Orend was the principal coder for the completed surveys and Eileen Sussman was the programmer for the data analysis. Dolores Carson supervised production of the manuscript and was assisted in the typing and editing by Emma King, Linda Gorski and Susan Blansfield. Dolores Miller performed numerous administrative functions while the authors were out of the country. James Reinish and several Endowment staff members helped in the development of the questionnaire.

While the study could not have been completed without the help of these people, the results and conclusions, as always, are the responsibility of the authors.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Visual arts have long been the object of intense interest, admiration, and often controversy. The artist, however, has received much less attention except in terms of the tragic/romantic stereotypes often presented in movies and novels. This is particularly true for lesser known artists, whose efforts to break through numerous barriers to "success" are largely uncharted beyond images of struggle, deprivation, and frustration.* Most stories we know tend to focus on artists who eventually enjoyed great success.** Thus, our knowledge pertains to the situations of individuals who represent only a select portion of an ever increasing number of artists with aspirations to exhibit and sell their works.

Moreover, our knowledge of the artist's situation is further limited because much of the existing information is focused on individual artists or small homogeneous groups of artists, who, while they may represent an important artistic movement, do not represent a majority of practicing artists. For the most part, the selection of artists/movements to be studied has been made by art critics and historians. As a result only these selections have provided the focus for the study of the art world. This focus, generally does not represent the diversity of style, approach, and geographic distribution which characterizes the contemporary American art scene. Nor does it address the many social and economic issues which are also part of the artist's life and which influence, both directly and indirectly, the character and quality of the art produced. These social and economic factors are the focus of this this report, and they need to be understood in the context of major short- and long-term historical changes in the functioning of the art world.

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*One notable example is Emile Zola's L'ouevre.

**See, for example, Rosenberg and Fliegel (1965).

These developments have led to an increasingly complex social and economic environment for the practice of visual arts. The foremost is the development of a market economy for the production and sale of art. Patron's or court artists, as traditionally defined, are all but extinct. Artists must market their own works, either through a dealer or directly to the consumer. This means that artists are also much more independent and that they are left to their own resources to develop procedures and networks necessary to exhibit or sell their work. The market economy resulted in an increase in the distance between the consumer and the artist. This group is primarily the result of a breakdown in the old patronage system, which means that the artist's efforts to exhibit and sell often involve an intermediate dealer whose aesthetic perspectives and economic considerations stand between the artists and their audience.* In addition, the breakdown has increased the impersonalness of the system by placing a gap, in both direct contact and the communication of aesthetic objectives, between the artist and potential audiences.

This selection process is "balanced" by a wider audience which encompasses people from virtually all socio-economic strata rather than just an elite as was previously the case. Paralleling and perhaps partially the result of these developments has been an increasing diversity in approaches to and styles of artistic expression. Technology has added new media like photography, video, and laser art, and many activities previously considered to function at a somewhat lower level than Art, e.g., crafts have been at least partially "elevated" to the status of the more traditional visual arts (i.e., painting, sculpture, etc.).

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*Evidence of this gap is found in Chapter 6 which shows that the most successful artists (in terms of sales) are more likely to operate through a dealer.

The development of a larger audience for art was a result of broader education, more efficient communication, the expansion of activities considered to be art, and another, perhaps more important factor, the increase in discretionary income in the middle classes. Thus, the demand for both viewing and purchasing original art of various styles continues to expand.

Art has also expanded as both a vocation and an avocation. Complementing and probably exceeding the consumption of visual art is the increase in the number of people who directly participate in doing art. Increases in both consumption and production of art are reflected in the expansion of art markets and new regional centers of art production and exposure. While New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago are still the major centers of the American art world, many smaller regional centers have developed during the past three decades. These regional centers have expanded the opportunities for both the production and consumption of original art. They have also contributed to the diversity of approaches to art resulting in both the development of new styles and the continuation of traditional styles.

The trends which we have briefly summarized have enormous implications for our understanding of how the social and economic dimensions of the production of art contribute to the development of art in the United States. They influence such conditions as (1) the amount of space available for public exhibition of art; (2) the type of art selected for exhibition; (3) the nature of the competition between artists to obtain a share of that space; (4) the relationship of artists, exhibitors, and audience; (5) the type of support artists receive; (6) the economic and working conditions of artists; (7) the social networks of artists; and (8) the kind of work many artists produce.

The isolation of the artists from their regular (patron) source of support made artists into entrepeueurs, responsible for their own livelihood and the production and sale of their art (if that were their objective). Because it is difficult both to produce and to sell art, many visual artists must rely on an intermediary to handle exhibition and sale of the art. This gives the intermediary considerable power over the type of art which is shown and sold. Along with critics and museum curators (whose control over what is shown is similar to that of commercial dealers, although at a somewhat different level), these people are the primary "gatekeepers" of the output of contemporary artists. More recently government agencies, e.g., the National Endowment for the Arts, have begun performing this role as well.* Thus, artists' chances for being selected to show their work are affected by the amount of physical space available and by the selection criteria of gatekeepers. The relationship between artists and these gatekeepers is, therefore, a primary focus in the functioning of the contemporary art world.*

Any commodity-based economy operates on the principle of scarcity.

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*The selection of gatekeepers are also influenced by a variety of factors, including their own taste and their perception of the preferences of the art consuming (viewing or buying) public. Artists and gatekeepers may have substantially different views of the latter perceptions or even its relevance.

In the case of art, the scarce commodity seems not to be art per se,* but the space to exhibit (and subsequently sell) art. The scarcity of space creates a competition between artists to obtain access to such space and then to sell to the art public. Often the exposure of one's work may lead to direct sales, but the initial objective, from the artist's perspective, is to show work to as broad an audience as possible. The artists' efforts to achieve exposure are a second major focus in our attempt to understand how the contemporary art world operates.

The market orientation of the visual arts has crucial implications for the support of artists as well. Presumably, contemporary artists can no longer rely on the support of patrons to insure that they will be able to continue their work. Actually, there may be a different kind of patronage system in operation. Many artists make a livelihood in the so-called art-related areas which, in effect, provide a means of earning a living while still doing their art. The most notable among these is teaching art. While there may be some question as to whether art teaching jobs are given on the merit of the teacher's art work, as presumably patronage was, there can be little argument that teaching jobs support literally thousands of American artists who might not be supported by their artistic output. There are, however, many more artists who do not have (or want) access to teaching or other art-related support, nor can they earn enough from the sale of their art to support themselves and their families. In other words, the supply of artists exceeds the demand for their art work. This has undoubtedly always been the case, although this reality is often ignored when the advantages of a patronage support system are discussed.

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*Except perhaps the scarcity of art works by specific artists which are in a great demand.

The increasing interest in being an "artist" has also created a diversity of approaches to obtaining support needed to pursue this interest. Many artists engage in artistic activities on only a part-time basis while pursuing either a different full-time vocation or engaging in domestic activities such as the "housewife" artist. This may be a conscious choice, i.e., they really do not want to be "full-time" artists, or it may result from necessity, i.e., their wage earning and/or family obligations dictate it. Others pursue artistic activities on a full-time basis regardless of the level of monetary (or exhibition) reward. Regardless of the level of effort, all of these artists compete for the limited amount of available exhibition space. In addition, there is no demonstrated relationship between the level of effort and the amount of artistic talent. Thus, other things being equal (e.g., artistic age, medium, style, etc.), the available spaces are equally accessible to artists at all levels of effort. The capacity to compete for space regardless of level of effort and an increasing interest in pursuing art as a part-time avocation has created an extremely complex support system. It also raises complicated unresolved questions about such issues as who is a professional artist and what type of outside support should be provided (if any). For these reasons the issues of the economic conditions of artists and the relationship of those conditions to the creation of art are a primary concern in the contemporary art world.

The increased production of high quality art has also contributed to the development of the regional art center phenomenon. Not all artists can or want to become involved in the propagation of their work in the major art centers (New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago). The development of regional centers has created an opportunity to pursue an artistic career closer to home. This development seems to be both a cause and an effect. The new art centers, which are characterized by a rapid growth in both public and private exhibition spaces, are partially the result of increasing local interest in art from both consumers and practitioners, and the difficulty, for both groups, to take advantage of the traditional major art centers. Simultaneously, the growth of the regional centers has helped to create its own local demand. Both audiences and artists see the expansion of local art as an opportunity which had not previously existed. This development impacts the general support system for artists and the social structure of the art world. Both of these issues are important parts of how the contemporary art scene functions and a significant key to our understanding of that system.

The final implications of the general historical trends to be addressed here is the relationship between new regional and traditional art centers. The regional centers have brought into being a whole new set of art subsystems, very often geographical but often representing distinct styles of artistic work as well. However, while regional centers have not displaced New York as the center of the American art scene, they do seem to have created new paths to the top of the art world and provided additional opportunities for artistic success. New York--and to a lesser extent, Los Angeles and Chicago--is still the ultimate target for many artists, but its precise influence on the regional centers or individual artists is unclear. One route to artistic success is to first conquer the local market and then move to the presumably stiffer competition of the major centers. Another path is to achieve some success at the national level before conquering the local area. The appearance of both paths suggests that the relationship between regional and national art centers is not fixed and that the growth of regional centers does not suggest a purely logical structural relationship. For this reason, this relationship needs to be investigated empirically.

The above social and economic issues have received some attention from both academic researchers and those with a more direct interest in the welfare of artists.* But there is little systematic background on the implications of these trends for the conditions under which artists work or the approaches taken by artists to achieve artistic, exhibition, and sales objectives. In this study we attempt to examine these issues in a more systematic manner and from the perspective of regional art centers which have become the quantitative, if not qualitative, hubs of artistic activity.

Obviously, no single study can exhaustively examine each of the major issues raised in the foregoing discussion. In the results presented here we have attempted to examine each of the major issues as they apply to artists in four major regional art centers--San Francisco, Washington, DC, Minneapolis, and Houston. Our examination is based on interview and survey information provided by artists and exhibitors in each city. We have looked at economic conditions of artists, the accessibility of exhibition space, how artists attempt to be represented in that space, the relationship between artists and exhibitors, the professional information-networks of artists, and the perceived needs of artists. In describing the results of our study, we will first describe the problems and needs of artists as the artists and exhibitors perceive them. This discussion will be presented in the context of the major foci described above in order to provide a more systematic framework for understanding the issues raised. This order of presentation follows the development of the study itself. The initial impetus was provided by issues raised in the program solicitation issued by the National Endowment for the Arts. Our approach to addressing those issues called first for extensive interaction with artists and exhibitors in the four target cities. The outcome of these interactions is summarized in the next section.

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*See, for example, Wilson, 1964, and Barrows, 1960, for discussion of artistic careers and conditions under which art works are created. Rosenberg and Fliegel, 1965, follow artists' career paths. Kadushin, 1976, examines artists' circles and networks, while art movements and the functioning of galleries are described by Ridgeway, 1978, and Bystrun, 1970, respectively.

THE ARTISTS' PERSPECTIVES ON ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

As the first step in our attempt to focus on the issues and problems of contemporary artists, we invited professionally exhibited artists and exhibitors in each of the four cities to participate in small group discussions about the conditions under which artists live, work, and exhibit in their cities.* These discussions were led by one or both of the authors. The substantive objectives of these discussions were (1) to obtain information on those problems artists felt were important in their efforts to do their work, exhibit, and sell; (2) to identify the issues of support generated by these problems; and (3) to identify and discuss artist-created solutions to those issues. Focusing on these areas was the only real restriction in the substance of the discussions.

In this section we present a summary of the artists' and exhibitors' comments on the major problems and issues they perceived. This discussion provides a context for results of the survey reported in subsequent chapters. It also parallels the discussion of general historic developments presented in the introductory section. Problem solutions will be discussed in the last Chapter, after the results of the survey are described and integrated into the general framework of the study.

Problems addressed in the discussions may be divided into three general categories: (1) producing art; (2) exhibiting art; and (3) selling art. The particular emphasis in each of these categories and the associated problems are dependent on a number of different characteristics of the artists and their working environment. Principal among these characteristics are the artist's experience, exhibition history, means of support, art form, and, on some specific issues, the city in which they live and work. Female and minority artists are also likely to identify different problems in some areas. We will examine each of the general categories separately, however, keeping in mind that they are interrelated.

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* A professionally exhibited artist is one who had shown in a recognized space at least once during the previous three years. Exhibitors included gallery dealers and curators from those spaces. Exhibitors and artists met separately. For a detailed description of selection procedures and group organization, see Appendix B.

Producing Art

Producing art is a function of the amount of interest the artist has, the amount of time the artist has, the space available for production, and the funds required to buy supplies. Very few artists are able to support themselves through the sale of their art work. This means that they must have either a job or some outside means of support. Most hold jobs. Some are supported by spouses, and a small minority are supported by grants or some other form of direct patronage. The issue for younger and less experienced artists is usually how they can find enough time to do their art and simultaneously support themselves. Many see work as a severe restriction on what they would really like to be doing and look to some form of outside support, direct or indirect, to alleviate the problem. Those with support from spouses are personally less concerned, but generally sympathetic to the problem. A small minority in this younger group would reject the idea of any outside support if it were not privately provided. While a very small number of artists have received some kind of direct patronage support, it is generally not consistent or fully supportive. Those who have received such support are usually relatively advanced in their careers (at least on a local scale). Younger artists, it seems, have not had sufficient exposure to generate this type of support. The question of individual patronage was usually very difficult to address because so few of the artists had any experience with it.

Only in Houston was there substantial current interest in the question of developing private individual patronage.*

The problem extends beyond time to concerns about materials and space to work. Most artists say they do not earn enough from their sales to replace basic art supplies.** This is particularly true of those who work in the more expensive media, and it means that their creative efforts may be limited by both time and materials.

The final limiting factor, beyond personal preferences, is space in which to work. Many artists need a dedicated space to either produce or process their work. Most resolve this problem by working in their homes, but often this is not feasible because of the nature of the work or the conditions of the home environment. For these artists the availability and cost of studio space is a major problem. Artists in the Washington, DC, area seemed particularly concerned about this issue, although it was raised in the other cities as well. As perceived by the artists, the problem is that "urban renewal" seems to follow artists into rundown neighborhoods that can be used for inexpensive studio space. "Urban renewal" forces up rents and often forces out the artists. The problem is at least partially independent of the general support issue in that many artists can work at home or have less demanding space requirements.

Older artists or those with a longer professional history seem less likely to consider space and income as operational problems. Generally, they are most likely to have established a working pattern in which they have adjusted their desires to do art with the requirements of earning a living. They are also more likely to have established a base (e.g., owning a house) from which to work. Those artists engaged in art-related occupations, particularly teaching, are also more likely to have solved the problem, although in a different way since both income and usually working space are provided through their jobs.

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*We do not know if this was because this kind of activity is more common in Houston or just an accident of the sample of artists and other art notables from the community with whom we spoke.

**Survey results presented in Chapter 5 support this contention.

The issues which follow from these problems may be divided into two general categories: 1. personal priorities, and 2. social support. It is the latter category with which we are concerned here. Many, probably most, artists feel that some kind of external support should be provided to help artists overcome economic, materials, and space difficulties, so they will be free to pursue their work. These opinions are based largely on the perceived value of art to the society and the failure of the art market to support the desired level (from the artist's perspective) of artistic output.* Among the artists with whom we spoke, the dominant issues were how much support, and how should it be provided. Only a small minority was willing to argue for a market or privately determined support system, i.e., no government aid to artists. Yet, most of those who participated had never had any form of direct government support for their work.

Whether the pro-support position was due to insecurity about their own work or a genuine philosophical belief in the role of government as the primary patron of the arts is not clear. It was evident, however, that the desire for support was not limited to younger financially insecure artists. Many of the established artists we interviewed also favored continuing or increased support of the visual arts, although there was wide disagreement about the specific content of that support.

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*Since many artists believe that the current system often selects less than the best (most innovative) artist for advancement, the failure to provide direct unencumbered support also reduces the amount of potentially good art which is created. Thus, they do not see it as an issue of simply reducing the number of marginal artists.

The recommendations on the nature of the support centered around how the support should be given, to whom it should be given, and by whom it should be allocated. Discussions centered around the role of the federal government, specifically the National Endowment for the Arts. This focus probably had two origins. First, the artists in the groups knew that our study was funded by the Endowment, thus pinpointing the single largest support source (and leading to many comparisons of the usefulness of direct support for artists versus support for research on the arts). Second, because the Endowment is the largest and most visible patron of the arts and because individual state and local programs tend to be much smaller,* there is a natural tendency to look to the Endowment.

The issue of how support should be given can be described as a competition between individual and institutional support. Among artists, individual support is favored, although some see advantages in institutional support (e.g., aid to museums and alternative spaces for specific shows) which they feel increases the opportunity for exhibition. Most artists also think that the size of the grants given to artists should be increased.

There is further general agreement that "artists" should have a greater role in the determination of how money should be distributed and who should receive the awards. As we mentioned earlier, most of the discussion of outside support centered on the National Endowment for the Arts. For this reason, one of the other distribution issues focused on centralization of allocation decisions. San Francisco artists were most vocal in their demand for a decentralized distribution process for awarding grants. The feeling seemed to be that Washington-based decision-makers could not make valid decisions for California artists. This perspective was somewhat less evident in Minneapolis and Houston. In fact, Minneapolis artists were generally least concerned with the activities of the Endowment. Washington artists are closer to the source, so their perspectives were concentrated on more specific aspects of the Endowment's support activities.

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*While any given state program is smaller, the amount of funds the Endowment devotes to a particular state is probably less than that spent by the state itself. The artists tended not to see this distinction and to compare individual state contributions to the total Endowment budget.

While there was general agreement that artists working in the current system had difficulty supporting their survival and artistic needs, that financial support should be maintained or increased, and that artists should have a greater role in the selection process, there was much less agreement about how the recipients and the judges should be selected. In fact, questions in this area were usually met with the equivalent of a shrug of the shoulders from the artists.

Exhibiting Art

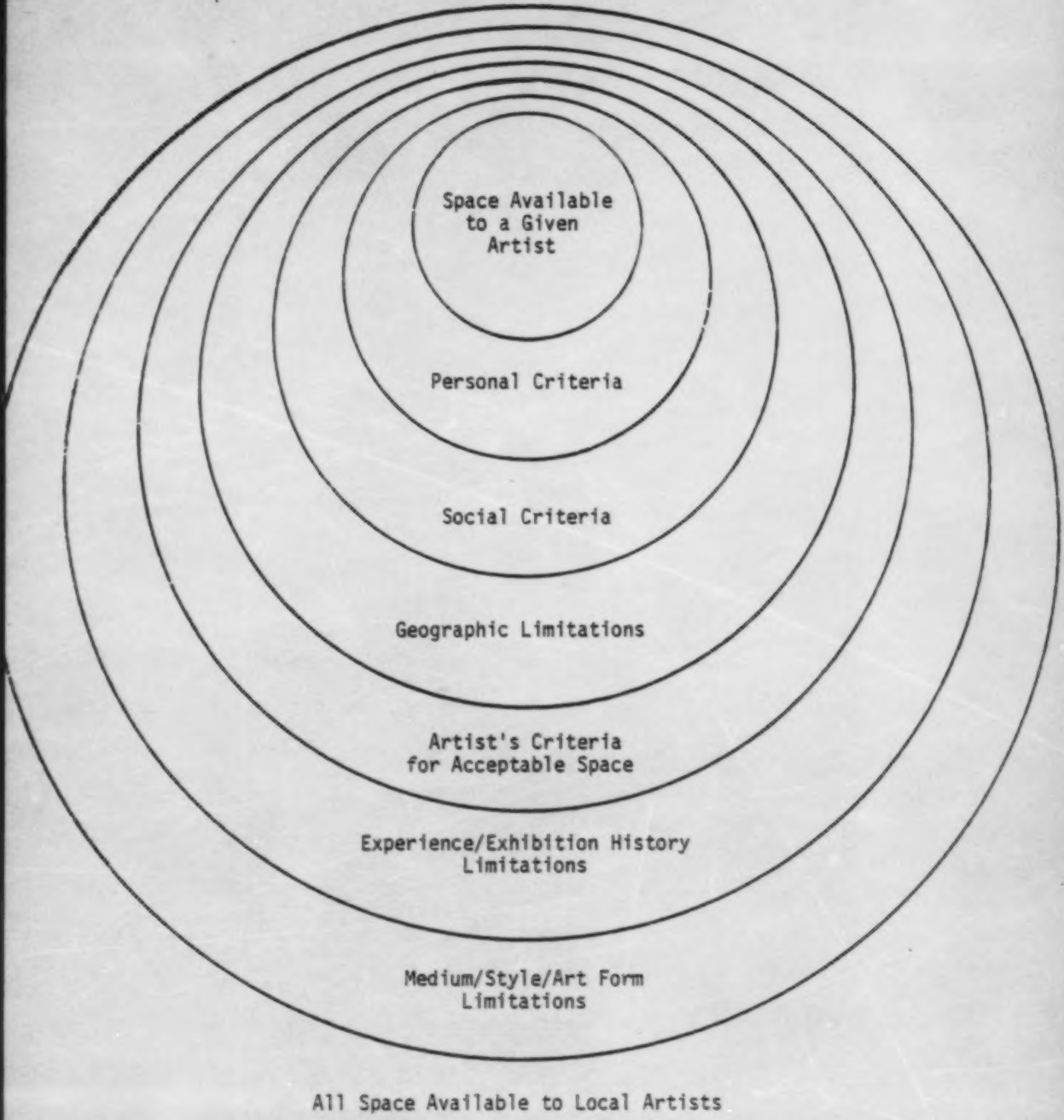
Once survival requirements have been accommodated and works have been created, the artist faces another, perhaps more difficult, task--getting the works exhibited. Virtually all of the artists interviewed had shown their work professionally, outside the school, shopping mall, and bank lobby circuit, at least one time during the three years prior to the study. Most had shown more than once. Thus, the discussions on exhibiting were conducted with individuals who had taken at least one successful route to accomplishing their exhibition objectives.

The primary problem of exhibiting is that there are fewer available spaces in which to exhibit than there are artists who would like to fill them. This oversupply of art creates a competition for the spaces which is complicated by the fact that spaces are not equally available to all artists.

That is, there are a number of factors entering the selection decision processes of exhibitors (museum curators, gallery owners, judges, etc.) which differentially limit the access to artists. Thus, the accessibility problem is not just a question of the ratio of spaces to artists, but includes such additional factors as (1) the quality of the artist's work as perceived by the exhibitors; (2) the physical and conceptual fitness of the work in the space (medium, style, art form, etc.); (3) the "pragmatic" quality of the work (e.g., will it sell or will the Board of Directors approve); (4) the experience of the artist (i.e., exhibition history or reputation); (5) the amount of space at a given point in time (the not now phenomenon); (6) the artist's preference for particular spaces (based on reputation, visibility, location, potential earnings, personal feelings about the exhibition, etc.); (7) social criteria; (8) geographic criteria; and (9) the personal feelings of the exhibitor toward the artist (dependability, trust, etc.). When combined, as in a set of eccentric circles. these factors can express a more realistic picture of the accessibility of exhibition space for a particular artist in a given locality. (See Figure 1.)

Most of these artist-identified factors are self-explanatory, but several require some elucidation. Physical and conceptual fitness (number 2) is best defined in terms of the objectives of space proprietors. An abstract expressionist painting is unlikely to be accepted in a gallery which shows realistic Western art, no matter what its quality might be. Each artist faces the same types of limitation, although the extent of the limitation is a function of the number of spaces showing a particular type of art and the number of artists attempting to show in that community. Social criteria (number 7) are primarily related to race, ethnicity, and gender. There exist, in all of the cities studied, galleries which are Black, Latino or female in their orientation and others which are considered less likely to accept artists because

FIGURE 1.1: Factors Affecting Exhibition Space Accessibility


Space Available to a Given Artist
Personal Criteria
Social Criteria
Geographic Limitations
Artist's Criteria for Acceptable Space
Experience/Exhibition History Limitations
Medium/Style/Art Form Limitations
All Space Available to Local Artists

The order and size of successive circles is arbitrary in this figure.
Not all factors apply in all situations. Factors can be interactive.

they have those characteristics (according to artists, this is most often expressed in terms of the style of their work--Black art, Chicano art, etc.). Geographic criteria are the imposition of limitations by the exhibitor for or against the inclusion of local artists in exhibits. Some galleries and museums show only well known ("blue chip") artists with national or international reputations. This may exclude all but a handful of the best known artists in the area. Others try to mix shows, which also restricts spaces for local artists (although it is presumably matched by open spaces at other locations). Personal feelings have to do with the artist and exhibitor (especially in a private gallery situation) being able to get along and meet their obligations to one another.

The most concrete of the factors entering the selection decision, e.g., experience, style, medium, etc., define an outer limit of available spaces. The softer factors, like perceived quality, personal interaction, and the artist's own restrictions, can serve to further restrict exposure opportunities.

Two final factors, which permeate all of the foregoing, are information and process. Information defines for artists the spaces where they are more likely to obtain exhibitions. It gives them an idea of what their particular set of eccentric circles looks like. Having an accurate image of this situation facilitates the artists' capacities to operate in their exhibition environment. Process includes those actions taken by the artists (in light of what they know about their exhibition potential) and by the exhibitors to fill available spaces. Insofar as the artists are uninformed or take inappropriate actions, they use their time inefficiently and reduce their chances for exhibition. Similarly, to the extent that the exhibitor is unaware of how and where to seek out (or be sought out by) appropriate artists, they will not be able to present the type and quality exhibits they desire. It is the failure of individuals in both groups to understand this interaction that contributes significantly to differences and conflict between the groups. As one Washington artist put it, "I see the artist looking for galleries. I see galleries looking for artists. And I see the two groups of people continuously missing each other somewhere along the line."

The general problem of accessibility is manifested for artists and exhibitors in a variety of specific issues over which there is considerable disagreement. The areas of contention include: (1) perceived biases against certain types of art and artists; (2) limitations in space available to exhibit all types of art; (3) selection criteria for exhibition (in addition to style or art form); (4) differences in perspective on the process of exhibiting as seen by artists and exhibitors; and (5) outside support for exhibition space.

System Biases

As might be expected, many if not most, artists who are not enjoying overwhelming success feel that the local system (available exhibition spaces) is biased against them. This feeling goes beyond individual discrimination and usually is presented in terms of group characteristics. These characteristics include both the commonly recognized racial and gender discrimination and discrimination based on artistic style or approach.

Perceived Discrimination Based on Demographic Characteristics

Biases in selection based on race or ethnic (particularly Latino groups) characteristics are widely identified by the offended groups, but seldom recognized by majority groups. It is among these minorities that the bias seems most blatant, often taking the form that works by Blacks and Latinos are easily distinguished from mainstream art and, therefore, not readily marketable (for sales or exhibition). Black artists in Washington and Chicano artists in Houston were particularly sensitive to these issues. One outcome of these biases, besides not being exhibited in most of the top level galleries, is that Blacks and Latinos are more likely to be seen in spaces which exclusively show their art or special group shows.*

Exhibitors, particularly gallery directors, generally see no bias, but only an allegiance to an art form or particular market that does not include the type of work being produced by the minority artists. Many artists feel that this preconceived exclusionary policy keeps them from exposure to the money markets necessary to produce economic success. Minority galleries simply do not provide that kind of exposure. Museums and other high quality spaces usually do not fill the void. One reason for this is the absence of minorities among curators who develop shows of local artists. Another is that curators often look to local private galleries or trusted gallery directors as sources of information about whom to include in museum shows. Minority artists often do not appear in these networks. Thus, a minority artist can be systematically excluded at all levels of the dominant art exhibiting system.

This clearly does not mean that no Black or Latino artists can overcome the hurdles. There are examples of top level (in terms of exhibition history and public recognition) minority artists in each of the four cities in our study. However, they are the exception, and other minority artists are likely to discount these exceptions as sell-outs, who gave up artistic independence to achieve success in the dominant artistic modes.

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*Another consequence of the alienation created by this situation is that Blacks and Latinos were less likely to be cooperative in this study. In both Washington, DC, (Blacks) and Houston (Chicanos), special group and individual interviews had to be arranged to discuss these issues and there was considerable mistrust of the researchers. In addition, the identification of artists from these groups was more difficult and we believe that their response rate to surveys was lower than their actual proportions in the art community.

For women the problem is much more subtle. Several female artists were eager to share statistics which show that men are much more likely than women to be represented at virtually all levels of exhibition. The special target of these statistics, however, is the private gallery. At a general level, female artists were more likely to perceive selection bias based on gender than were male artists or exhibitors, but this was not a universal feeling and often was not raised as an issue in our discussions. There was also considerable difficulty in identifying how this bias was implemented. That is, just how did a particular artist know she was being excluded because she was a woman? In the case of other minorities, artistic style was usually the ostensible key. For white females such differences, on the average, would be very difficult to identify. Thus, while exhibition statistics seem to indicate a real difference in exhibition potential, at least historically, it is difficult to show how the bias is currently operationalized.*

The explanation most often offered for this bias was that art collectors were less interested in purchasing work by female artists. Exhibitors did not confirm this perspective, although it was not an issue which we raised as a regular agenda item in our meetings with exhibitors or artists. Some women artists have countered the perceived system bias with the formation of exclusive coops and special galleries (in three of the four cities--Houston was the exception at the time of our data collection). But this does not solve the problem of selection bias in some of the more important galleries, nor does it prove that such biases still exist. Our study was not focused on this specific issue, so information needed to examine it in greater detail is not available. The survey results, described in subsequent chapters, provides some additional data, but it is also inconclusive about the type or extent of bias against showing women artists.

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*Except, of course, that some specific instances of gross discrimination were cited by artists. These gross cases seemed to be the exception. Our data (Chapter 5) indicate that male artists are likely to have had a more successful exhibition history.

Perceived Discrimination Based on Artistic Style and Experience

What exhibitors see as valid criteria for the selection of works to show in their spaces, many artists see as forms of discrimination against the particular medium, style, or art form used by the artist. Commercial dealers may look for work that meets certain aesthetic criteria and marketability for a given audience. Artists often see this as a narrow perspective and selling out to "commercialism." When pressed, the same artists will admit that gallery directors also have a right to make choices, but that the choices seem to tend toward safe, "mainstream" art which is not what they (the artists) really want to do. This agrument produces some squeamishness on the part of artists who have established firm gallery relationships. In this group some feel there may be conflicting pressures on their work--the sale work and the work they do for themselves. Most artists who are successful gallery exhibitors, however, do not feel this pressure. Many artists who have not been successful at obtaining gallery representation are younger and seem more likely to change styles until they find something they are comfortable with or something that successfully produces shows. There is, in this situation, room for an insolvable debate about whether such changes represent creative search or bending to the system. This dilemma is on the minds of many artists as they try to reconcile their work with a lack of exhibition or sales success.

Other artists, among them some who have had commercial success, have rejected the perceived restrictions of the system and opted to do what they want while waiting for the system to come to them. The rejection could be directed toward perceived artistic restrictions or the actions necessary to succeed in the system, or both. The tendency to break away from the system seemed more

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likely to occur in Houston, among artists with whom we spoke. Among Minneapolis area artists there seemed to be a greater tendency to ignore or just not become terribly involved with the local gallery scene. In Washington artists seemed least likely to ignore or turn away from the market system. In this sense, Washington was the most "politicized" of the four cities we studied.

Among artists rejecting the gallery system, the most likely were those whose work could be described as radically different in approach, style, or medium.* While we did not attempt to judge the degree to which artists worked outside mainstream (for their location) art, the artists themselves suggested that being different was a main barrier to success in the commercial system. With the possible exception of San Francisco, artists in all cities considered the galleries and, to a large extent, the museums which show local artists, to be conservative in the selection of works for exhibition. With the distinct exception of San Francisco, there was, at the time we visited the four cities, very little attempt to exhibit radically different kinds of art on a regular basis in Houston, Minneapolis, or Washington.** Given this situation, the artists may be said to have presented a valid argument for a position that the selection system discriminates against this type of art.***

Other artists also felt they had less than an equal opportunity to exhibit their work at the level they thought appropriate. Sculptors, for example, usually thought they had fewer opportunities to exhibit their work. Photographers, also, were likely to take this position. Less experienced

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[*] Without getting dangerously specific, artists in this category might include video artists, conceptual artists, environmental artists, certain types of visual performance artists, and others whose approaches and styles tend to defy parsimonious description.

[**] Washington may be considered marginal in this regard if only because of the continuing success of the Washington Project for the Arts (WPA) space.

[***] However, we had no opportunity to judge the extent to which artists who made these complaints actually produced work which could be considered "radical".

artists, those with little or no exhibition history, often felt discriminated against because many exhibitors demanded "previous experience" before the artist could be accepted for exhibition. They felt "quality" should be the first criterion. In the words of some more experienced artists, they were unwilling to "wait their turn."

Still another external biasing factor is the degree to which the artist's location is a factor in the exhibitor's decision. Among artists, it is widely felt that out-of-town artists often have an advantage in local galleries, particularly more prestigeous galleries and museums, because of a kind of exoticness which exhibitors are thought to feel attracts audiences and/or buyers. Some exhibitors do consciously attempt to mix local and out-of-town artists in their show schedules. Many gallery owners also admit that out-of-town artists often do attract more interest than local artists. In Washington, San Francisco, and Houston, some of the better known artists commented that they could not exhibit in local prestigeous galleries or museums until they had attained some success on a national level (usually New York). One Houston artist also said that he sold as much or more of his work to local patrons through out-of-town galleries as he did through local galleries. There is presumably a snob appeal to buying art from a New York gallery, regardless of its origin.

The overall effect of this tendency, which is undoubtedly at least partially caused by a desire to exhibit different artistic perspectives, could be neutral if the local artists had an equal opportunity to show their work in other areas. However, the desirability of showing "up" puts potential limits on the willingness of artists in these four cities to move to new areas. If you are an artist in Washington, you want to show in New York, not Richmond, Virginia.

The Bias of Process

Any exhibition biases based on selection criteria, artistic style, and even demographic characteristics, may be equaled or surpassed by those created by the process in which artists attempt to find exhibition spaces and exhibitors attempt to find artists. The exhibitor's quest is characterized by three general approaches: 1. open competition; 2. the use of personal sources or networks; and 3. artist initiated contact.

More or less open competition exists when the exhibitor, upon deciding to have a show or locate new artists for the gallery, etc., announces that intention by advertising, using any combination of a variety of procedures. The announcement may be in newspapers, art publications, notices to art schools, etc., as well as by word of mouth. Such a competition is open only to the extent that artists are "tuned in" to the information sources. One problem, then, is how artists identify the appropriate sources of information for their work. (It does no good for a photographer to be aware of all of the calls for painters.) From the exhibitor's perspective, the problem is one of getting the word to artists who are likely to meet exhibitors' criteria for showing. Many artists told us that there existed no good network for passing such information in their cities. Only the most important competition would receive sufficient publicity to generate a broad based response. Artists felt they were often excluded from such opportunities because of the poor system or the poor use of the system by potential exhibitors. One question arising from this situation is to what extent do artists use available information networks? We will examine this question and related questions in our discussion of the survey results presented in Chapter 6.

Probably the most commonly used technique for identifying artists to show is to use personal sources or networks. Such sources can include: (a) artists; (b) museum curators or commercial dealers; (c) critics; (d) art teachers;

(e) personal friends; or (f) any other trusted informant about the current art scene. It may also include personal search--trips to other shows, group shows, art studios, etc. If, as we suggest, this is by far the most commonly used approach to the selection of artists for future shows, then it becomes very important for the artists to make themselves part of these networks. Many artists balk at such a prospect. Others profess not to know how to take advantage of such a system. Still others find cliques which seem relatively closed, therefore limiting their opportunities for exhibition. They feel that small groups of insiders have the advantage in obtaining shows in the more prestigeous spaces. This feeling was particularly strong among Houston artists. In Washington, a similar perspective was taken but generally among more advanced artists who were concerned about the ties which produced shows in major museums and galleries. In general, artists are not likely to use personal contacts as a major technique for getting shows and those who do are likely to come from the more successful artists. (See Chapter 5 for a further discussion.)

As artists increase exhibition experience, they seem to get a better sense of how to work in the system (who to know or who to talk to), but they are not necessarily happier with how it works. Younger artists feel they are excluded and, often, that they do not know how to break into the system. In San Francisco, there may be less concern for the "politics" of exhibition because of the diversity of possible exhibition opportunities, i.e., a somewhat higher ratio of exhibition spaces showing contemporary local art per local artist than in the other cities.

Everywhere there is a feeling among artists, confirmed by exhibitors from both museum and gallery settings, that exhibitor visits to studios and open competition shows are declining.* This means less "discovery" and greater reliance on the social networks. For younger artists, whose primary experience is in group shows, there is considerable frustration. Exhibitors at all levels explain that they have less and less time to spend in freelance search for new artists. In each city there is a small handfull of exhibitors who maintain a reputation for being receptive to younger or new artists. These individuals are generally well known for such practices, which means they are usually inundated with exhibition requests which they cannot possibly oblige.

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*The latter situation is especially notable since entry into competitions is one of the major techniques used by almost all artists, and especially those who have less exhibition success. See Chapter 6 for further discussion.

The third technique for identifying artists is from artist-initiated contact. This contact may take a number of forms ranging from the unannounced appearance of a portfolio carrying artist at the gallery or office to carefully planned introductions through mutual friends. It is the unannounced arrival which most irritates exhibitors who feel it is a rather rude imposition on their privacy. Yet, many exhibitors accommodate themselves to this approach by setting aside walk-in days or hours when they are willing to look at the work of unknown artists.

Generally, the walk-in approach, even when preceded by a telephone call for an appointment, is the least efficient way to get exhibited. On the average, only a very small proportion of the artists exhibited in galleries are the result of such showings. Most exhibitors seem to like to initiate the contact themselves. There are several reasons for this, but one of the most prominant is the complaint by exhibitors that artists are not informed about the interests and preferences of the gallery. They, the artists, do not do their homework with regard to style, media, and level of art being shown in the space and, therefore, often present entirely inappropriate work, wasting both artists' and exhibitors' time.

Artists think most exhibitors are unreceptive to new work and often inhospitable to new artists. They complain that appointments are difficult to obtain and, once they are obtained, often result in awkward and strained meetings. Exhibitors offer neither exhibition space nor feedback on the work.

Most younger artists would like to receive at least the latter. Exhibitors, on the other hand, are reluctant to provide feedback because they do not want to offend and because they do not want to seem to be trying to influence what the artist is trying to do. Exhibitors also say that artists generally do not put on a very "good show" when trying to sell their work. Slides are of poor quality; work is not organized; and presentations are disorganized. Thus, such showings are more likely to produce dissatisfaction than anything else.

The artists we interviewed were generally beyond the stage of door-to-door solicitation, although many said they had used that approach at one time or another. The continuous train of these show-seeking artists tends to come from a still less experienced group that has yet to have its first "professional" exhibit. Yet, the conflict between the professional artists we interviewed and exhibitors still exists. Many artists, especially those with no regular gallery agreement, are still trying to overcome the problems of exhibiting by the force of their work in an open competitive market. Most exhibitors do not seek new artists in this open market, but prefer the more closed system of referrals. While no system can guarantee all artists a place in the sun, it is clear that those who are more understanding of and adaptable to the social side of the exhibition process are more likely to succeed. This statement should not be construed as an indictment of this process. Exhibitors argue there is simply not enough time or money to extensively review all possible artists. Some kind of short cut or intermediary seems necessary despite the fact that it may exclude artists on the basis of marketing skills rather than artistic skills.

Some artists have countered with direct marketing approaches. Among visual artists* the most common are entering open competitions and forming cooperative galleries. The former offers the longest odds; the latter provides almost certainty that work will be exhibited, but may also require money and a considerable time commitment. The three basic reasons for participating in a cooperative are to show work, to show types of work which are generally not acceptable in commercial or public spaces (e.g. avant-garde), and to sell work. All three motives may exist in the same artist, but the first and third seem to be the most prevalent. The work shown in most cooperative galleries is not very radical, however, these galleries are one of the main show places for younger and less experienced artists. Since most of these spaces are relatively new, not enough is known about them to determine if they are an important stepping stone to other, more prestigeous, exhibitions.

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*Here defined as not including artists who work in areas traditionally defined as crafts, e.g., potters, weavers, jewelers, etc.

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Along with cooperatives, "alternative spaces" provide exhibition spaces for work that does not fit or is otherwise unacceptable in more traditionally oriented spaces. Interestingly, several alternative spaces (like 80 Langton street in San Francisco, and WPA in Washington, DC) have survived for a considerable period (longer than most coops) and become institutionalized purveyors of radical art forms. Two of the cities in the study, Houston and Minneapolis, do not have a gallery which regularly performs that function. In Houston, more artists were concerned about this than in Minneapolis. In all cities, the availability of such space seemed to lag behind the artists' demand for its use. There are more artists whose work does not seem to fit into regular spaces than there are alternative spaces available. The well known alternative spaces also present another accessibility problem similar to well known commercial spaces--they do not cater exclusively to local artists.

Despite the use of cooperative, alternative spaces, and a variety of other approaches to obtaining exhibition spaces, the question of how an artist gets work exhibited remains unresolved. There are still more artists than spaces and the proprietors of the available spaces, of all types, still must select and choose which works to exhibit. The artists whose approach is to go to the exhibitor seem to face the most difficult problem, since most exhibitors do not find artists in this manner. In subsequent chapters we shall examine in somewhat greater detail (based on survey results) how artists go about gathering information and attempting to get exhibited.

Selling Art

The logical extension of exhibition work is selling it. While not all exhibition is directed toward sales, and not all sales occur as a result of public exhibition, they are obviously strongly related in most instances. Prior to examining the perceived issues of selling, it is important to identify the perspective of those who are not interested or cannot "sell" their work.

Art That Is Not For Sale

Not all artists depend on or look for sales from their work. For this group the feedback provided by exhibition provides the most sought after external reward. Also, museum shows and exhibitions in other public spaces usually are not directed toward the sale of art, although sales can be an important indirect outcome.

Many works are simply not salable. These include performances, conceptual pieces, grand scale environmental works, and works with a short nonrenewable life. In these cases, the funds and space to exhibit are the primary support replacing sales function. Works of this type are among the more important new directions being pursued by contemporary artists and, also, are among the art forms which artists are having difficulty exhibiting. Here the relationship between art form, exhibition and sales is most evident. It is in these areas where the issue of support versus a free market is most critical. While other artists usually work in areas where it is possible to produce a marketable product, many of the artists working in the new media or styles do not. The development of these new approaches is therefore heavily dependent on generating outside help, such as direct government aid or indirect support of other exhibition opportunities. Support of "alternative spaces" is an example of the latter type of support.

For commercial galleries the relationship between a willingness to exhibit and potential sales is critical. Some commercial dealers are willing to show works they feel will not sell only on a limited basis. No one we spoke to was willing to do that regularly. While we did not probe specifically into the finances of galleries cooperating in our study, it was clear that more than half of the gallery owners did not make a living from their galleries. Many, in fact, operated in the red. They are hobbies for the owners. This partially explains why there is a substantial turnover among galleries. With few exceptions, those commercial galleries which were most financially successful are not likely to show radical kinds of art (in the cities we studied). Also, they are not likely to show local artists exclusively. These conditions create a paradox because the success and longevity of these conservative tending galleries contributes to their prestige and makes them desirable exhibition locations (both for the career enhancing prestige and for potential sales). Thus, artists who do radically different work may be faced with some difficult career decisions involving style and financial success.

These conditions not withstanding, the majority of artists are not faced with this decision because their work does not fall outside acceptable (from the dealer's perspective) limits of conformity.* It is the selling problems and issues of this group which we will discuss in the remainder of this section.

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*Conformity should not be taken pejoratively. It simply means that the artist's work is not so different in style that it appears radical in comparison to the dominant trends of the day.

Art That Is For Sale

Most artists have some interest in selling their work even if it is not their primary objective as artists. If nothing else, sales can pay for supplies to do more art. As we suggested earlier, sales support only a small proportion of the professional artists we interviewed and often do not cover the cost of supplies. The problem for artists is how to increase sales. The primary marketing approach is through some kind of public exhibition of the work. Many artists assume that getting exhibited is tantamount to selling. They feel that if only the buying public were aware of their work, it could be sold. More experienced artists realize that some kind of exhibition is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for sales.

Who Sells

The selling problem is manifested in a variety of ways depending on the exhibition situation. Some artists feel they must sell through an intermediary (dealer, agent, etc.) because they do not like to be directly involved in the sale of their work. This creates problems ifexhibition space is difficult to obtain. Others prefer to handle their own sales, for a variety of reasons, including saving dealer commissions and because they think they are better salespersons for their own work. These artists work through personal networks to identify and attract potential buyers or they may open their own galleries. Cooperatives can be a manifestation of the desire to exhibit and sell, but they also may provide a means of avoiding direct contact with the audience.

While having a dealer or agent tends to increase exposure and save the artist's time, it also creates some problems. Most of these problems concern the relationship between commercial galleries and artists: what kind of agreement is negotiated; what percentage does the gallery keep; who is responsible for promotion; does the gallery have exclusive rights to an artists work; how does the gallery take care of works in its possession; what is the gallery's responsibility with regard to shows, etc. Not all of these concerns relate directly to selling, but they do relate to the success an artist may have in finding and keeping a relationship with a gallery. Probably a majority of gallery owners feel artists are unbusinesslike and not able to properly manage the business side of their art. This situation is an irritant to some and an opportunity to "mother" the artists for others.

In most instances, a gallery association seems to be to the artists' advantage in attempting to show and sell their work. The potential market is expanded and the existence of such an agreement adds a certain amount of prestige and credibility to the artist's resume. For many artists, however, the potential advantages are outweighed by the problems. Failure to pay commissions, discounting prices, failure to take care of works, costs of setting up shows (often shared by the artist and the gallery), and demands by galleries to have exclusive rights to sell the artists' works, are some of the administrative problems cited by artists. Others see more fundamental issues related to the kind of work the artist is producing. They feel direct and indirect pressure to produce the kind of work that will sell. This may involve the continuation of currently popular styles or changes, suggested by the exhibitor, which will presumably make the work more salable. This kind of perceived pressure keeps many artists out of the gallery market or drives them to join cooperatives where they feel less outside pressure on their work.

Gallery owners also list a series of complaints about artists in their professional relationships. Many artists are said to be undependable in delivering completed works for shows and naive in their approach to business relationships. Artists also compete against the galleries in selling their work, thus making it difficult for the galleries to operate efficiently. The conflict over selling rights thus impacts on the struggling artist and the struggling gallery.

Our experience with artists suggests that most of the better known and more experienced artists are associated with a gallery. The dilemmas of working with a gallery are more likely to occur among less experienced artists and those whose work falls into the nonsalable categories discussed above. Naturally, gallery artists are quick to point out that, while there are problems in gallery agreements, they do not feel their work has been compromised.*

What Price

In a market economy, price is a negotiated balance between demand and supply. Many artists view price as a reflection of their own worth as artists, which does not always correspond with the demand for their work. This means they price themselves out of the market. Others include time and materials calculations in their prices. This may also have the effect of prices which the market will not support. Yet, both of these approaches seem to have a face value reasonability about them. For younger artists especially, there are serious problems in achieving these pricing objectives. While the former approach, self-evaluation, may be tempered by advice from individuals more knowledgeable about what the market is likely to bear, given a level of experience and other nonqualitative factors, it is difficult to argue that the artist should be pricing works at less than it costs, in time and materials, to produce them. It is this situation that leads many artists to argue for outside (governmental) support for artists. Insofar as artists must do other things to support themselves, because the market prices for their art will not support them, they are distracted from the development of their work.

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*A few artists are willing to admit to succumbing to the pressures of producing salable work. Others caveat by saying that they produce some work for sales and some for their own development.

As with basic gallery agreements, the approach to pricing art in galleries takes many forms. Many artists will set their own prices based on previous selling experience, their feeling about the intrinsic worth of their work, comparisons with other artists working in a similar style, medium, etc., and/or a calculation about how much they need to cover basic expenses (both personal and artistic). For experienced artists this may be a reasonable practical approach. For many younger artists it often leads to problems with gallery owners because prices are thought to be too high. More experienced artists have a sales history which can be used to establish current prices. Other artists, who really do not have a sustained sales history, will rely on the judgment of the exhibitor.

Even with a long history and a well established price basis, there is no guarantee that a particular work or series of works will sell. Thus, experienced well established artists may have the same problem supporting themselves as less experienced artists. The price-related problem this creates centers around a widely accepted principle that artists should not roll back prices (or discount for that matter) in order to solve immediate market problems. This argument asserts that reducing prices undermines the value of work already sold and could have serious long-term implications for the value of the artist's work. It is tied to the idea that a primary support factor in the value of the artist's work is its resale value. Because art has a value as an investment, beyond whatever artistic merit it possesses, the artist, and particularly the dealer, must be aware that they do not undermine these basic values by cutting prices. In this situation the artists seem to be caught between immediate needs and the long-range value of their work.

The exhibitor side of this issue is the granting of discounts on the price of works and who should bear the cost of those discounts. Many artists feel that the exhibitor should carry the total burden, while others are willing to share the load. There is often a lack of communication between the artist and the dealer on this issue, which results in a post-sale debate about who will be responsible for the "loss." Part of the issue is the reason for using the discount as a sales technique. For example, using the discount to sell the work to an important collection (e.g., museum) may be more acceptable to some artists than discounting to a one-time off-the-street customer.

Another pricing issue which is currently receiving a great deal of public attention is the resale price of art by living artists. Many artists argue that they should receive some benefit from the rapidly spiraling prices of their work by getting a percentage of the resale price. While the exact mechanism for such a system is unclear, the intent is to insure that the artist is not squeezed out of the profits by speculators. In our discussions it seemed that a majority of artists favored some kind of system which would provide a second opportunity for the artists to collect on their work. Some, however, recognized that such a system could have the effect of depressing the market for all art by removing the speculative and inflation hedging characteristics of much recent art collecting. The argument suggests that this would reduce the price of new works produced by the artist.

While this issue has the potential to affect any artist, there are relatively few living artists who are in a position to reap any advantages brought about by a change in the system.* Therefore, it is not a burning issue for most artists, although many feel that it will affect them at some future date. Other issues, discussed above, are much more personal and immediate to the majority of artists.

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*Our survey showed that two-thirds of the responding artists did not know if any of their works had been resold. Of those who did know about two-thirds said there had been no resale. A total of 5.3 percent of all responding artists (N=900) said that they knew their work had been resold for a higher price.

Other Practical Problems

Most of the issues of concern to artists have fit into the three categories of producing, exhibiting, and selling art. Some more practical problems transcend these categories and will be discussed briefly in this section. These problems are related to general living conditions in which artists represent nearly unique situations. Included in issues raised by artists were taxes (especially deduction for losses of the artist's own works), unemployment compensation, medical and other insurance, legal support, and, an issue which concerns the working of the art community, the lack of strong artist organizations.

One of the most frequently mentioned special issues was the tax rule which does not allow artists to deduct the market value of their own lost or damaged works if they do not draw any income, from the sale of their work. While it is not clear that this happens with great frequency, the issue seemed important as a symbolic indication of how artists are treated as second-class citizens. During the months immediately preceding our interviews there had been some publicity on this issue as well, thus it was often raised as an issue which could be remedied and which would bring some relief to artists.

A far broader issue concerns what organizationally employed people call the "benefits" of a job. These include a variety of insurance, vacation, and retirement payments that are either made by the employing organization or made affordable as a result of group membership. Artists, like all self-employed individuals, have a difficult time availing themselves of this type of "benefit." Health insurance particularly is a very expensive item if purchased individually. The primary issue, here, is how artists can take advantage of group rates or get some other type of support in this area.

Another issue related because of the requirement for group membership is unemployment compensation. When does an artist become unemployed so as to qualify for state or federal benefits? It is the fact of being self-employed which makes this and the other related issues so important for artists. Those artists working as teachers, curators, or in nonart-related jobs do not have to face these issues. But those attempting to focus exclusively on their art are forced to face these issues directly. Many of this latter group argued that some type of assistance should be provided, probably through changes in rules and requirements. Artists who participated in our discussions were not likely to compare themselves to other self-employed groups in the society. They were more likely to see the artist's situation as unique and to seek unique remedies to their employment-related problems.

Some artists saw organization as a way to solve the type of problems mentioned and others related to all aspects of artistic activity. Calls for greater organization were often met with strong verbal support, but usually included a rather pessimistic discussion of the chances for developing a successful organization of artists. Artists cited the general failure of previous attempts at such organization and the absence of any strong national organization which currently promoted the interests of artists.* Many felt that artists, because they were artists, could not be effectively organized. This was supported by the attitudes of some participants who said they wanted no part of such organizations. Thus, one method for resolving some of the practical problems which artists raised was left in limbo because there seemed to be little consensus on what to do, how to do it, and if it could be successful. Organization is a kind of catchword which some artists feel is vital to achieving any political goals, and most artists support, but which seems unlikely to be a real development in the immediate future in the cities we visited.

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*Existing organizations were by and large discounted, even by artists who were members, as truly effective forces in the political arena.

Concerns Generated by Artists

As part of our general survey we provided artists an opportunity to comment on "additional issues related to the Visual Arts". The question was open-ended and was the last item in the questionnaire (Appendix A). The question specifically asked artists to focus on issues not already covered in the survey. Of 940 respondents, 428 (45.5%) provided some response. Table 1.1 shows a distribution of the artists' comments on this question. Among artists who responded, the largest single area was economic issues. The uncertainties and insecurities of being an artist and a variety of problems in getting outside support for art activities (the last 3 categories) were the focus of over a third of the respondents. Many of the support oriented comments concerned the availability of money, procedures for obtaining money, and biases in the distribution of money (geographic and styles or types of art). A few artists took the other side and raised the issue of whether there should be any outside support at all. About 1 artist in 10 expressed general dissatisfaction with the art system. These artists were likely to list a variety of problems about marketing (exhibition and sales) and support systems. Smaller groups focussed on specific issues. For example, 6.1 percent were upset by what they felt was a lack of community among artist and the potential that a more unified artist community would have in solving art-related problems. Another 5.6 percent were disturbed by the "commercialism" of the art market and how this might affect the creative freedom of artists. Four percent discussed

TABLE 1.1. Additional Issues Raised by Survey Respondents

	Issue	
1.	Economic uncertainties of being an artist	15.7%
2.	Problems of getting support (procedures, requirements, difficulty, sources, etc.)	18.7%
3.	Lack of support - no support money available	3.0%
4.	General dissatisfaction with the system	11.0%
5.	Lack of community among artists	6.1%
6.	Commercialism of art and art exhibitors	5.6%
7.	Discrimination (gender and racial)	3.7%
8.	Failure of the education system to provide proper art education or appreciation in public	4.0%
9.	Dealer exploitation of artists	1.4%
10.	Availability of exhibition space	1.4%
11.	Art-craft distinction (craft artists)	.7%
12.	Random comments irrelevant to art	9.7%
13.	No complaints or problems (everything going OK)	18.9%

the perceived failure of the educational system to educate the public and teachers on the importance of art, which contributes to the economic problems of artists. Three point seven percent were concerned about some kind of discrimination (racial, ethnic, or gender) in the selection system which systematically excluded some groups from the dominant art system. A small proportion, 1.4 percent were concerned about dealer exploitation of artists (high commissions, manipulations, resale, etc.) and an additional 1.4 percent spoke directly to the issue of the availability of exhibition space. Almost 20 percent had no problem with the system, support, or any other aspects of their art activities.

The separation of the issues into categories does not mean that each artist has only one concern. Categories were based on the primary focus of the comments. What we feel is particularly notable about all comments which found fault with some part of the current situation was the lack of specific proposals to improve it. Very few responding artists offered suggestions on exactly what they thought should be done to alleviate the problem beyond such general comments, as provide more money directly to artists, make grants bigger, etc.

While it is important to know and understand the perspective of artists on these problems, the information supplied in the answers to our question provides only an indirect contribution to our understanding of all the economic conditions and marketing issues facing artists. In subsequent chapters of this report we will find these issues woven into the fabric of general conditions and the process of exhibiting and selling art.

The foregoing discussion presented some of the basic problems and issues identified by artists in the four cities we studied. This summary was not meant to be exhaustive. Rather, it focused on the major issues raised by the artists. Our initial analysis of these discussions was to use them as a major component in developing a questionnaire for administration to a larger sample of artists in each of the cities. The other components in this development were the historical trends identified in the first part of the chapter, the social model described in Chapter 2, our own previous research in the area of accessibility, and the issues which were identified and elaborated by the sponsoring agency (the National Endowment for the Arts).

Our discussion of the results of that survey will begin in Chapter 3. In Chapter 2, we provide a more systematic conceptual framework for organizing and understanding the results of the survey. This chapter also containes an expanded description of the methodology used in the study.* Survey results, designed to answer artist-raised issues and adhere to the more systematic conceptual framework, are presented in subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 describes respondent characteristics. Chapter 4 presents results on economic and related working conditions. Chapter 5 describes the exposure history of the sample artists. It includes number, type, and patterns of exhibition records. These patterns are then related to economic conditions of artists. Chapter 6 describes the process of getting works exhibited, social interaction and information networks and how these processes relate to economic conditions and exhibition histories. Finally, Chapter 7 presents conclusions and recommendations. These are based on both the survey results and results of the presurvey interviews. They represent the views of the artists as they were expressed to us using both data collection techniques.

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*A detailed description of the methodological procedures is contained in Appendix B.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
AND
METHODOLOGY

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Context of the Art Socio-Economic Subsystem

Visual artists operate within an immediate art oriented socio-economic context and the broader societal socio-economic system. While these levels are by definition interactive, each also contributes an independent direct effect on the work artists do and how they function. In this Chapter we will present a brief model of how artists fit within these systems and the impact of each level on what artists do and the problems they face. The emphasis will be on the level of the artist's immediate socio-economic situation.

There are, of course, many functions which art performs in a society. For individuals, doing art may serve as a form of self expression and creativity. It may serve as a means of expressing a particular social, economic, or political perspective as well (i.e., it carries a message beyond the work itself). For some artists, art provides complete economic support. For most, however, the supportive function is only partial. From the society's perspective, art may be the production of beauty, the expression of an aesthetic viewpoint, a comment on some aspect of the state of the society, a historical reflection of changes in the society, or some combination of these functions. In recent years, the economic function of art in the society has greatly increased. Art collectors view art as a hedge against inflation and art organizations and institutions point to the economic impact of art on communities.

How art performs these and other functions is partially the result of the socio-economic system in which it operates. In the United States the market economy is reflected in the open market system for exhibiting and selling most visual art. The pluralistic social and political systems are repeated in the variety of approaches taken by the artists and recognized (to a greater or lesser degree) by gatekeepers in the art system. Changes in the distribution of wealth and population can be seen in the development of regional art centers, such as those examined in this study. Thus, the functioning of the larger socio-economic context is manifested in the operation of various components, including art. But the socio-economic organization of art is not necessarily a direct reflection of the total system. There are unique aspects of the arts world that may distort or even preclude the direct impact of the larger system. In addition, the visual arts operate differently than other arts, e.g., performing arts, and therefore provide additional unique elements that distinguish this subsystem from the general socio-economic system. In a sense, the visual arts are one of the pluralities within a pluralistic system.

The Visual Arts Socio-Economic Subsystem

We will define the visual arts subsystem as a set of five interrelated processes:

1. The production of art.
2. The evaluation of art by potential exhibitors and other interested parties.
3. The selection of art for initial or further exposure.
4. The dissemination of art by means of sales, exposure, and information concerning the works and their creators.
5. The distribution or allocation of rewards, monetary and symbolic, to creators of art by those who observe, evaluate, exhibit, and purchase the works.

The actors who directly participate in these processes are artists, exhibitors, critics, collectors, public and private organizations that support artistic production, general audiences and the media. All play a role in defining how the visual arts operate within the general context of the larger socio-economic system. The artists function as producers of art which may then be exhibited and sold, although not necessarily all artists want to exhibit or sell their work. In addition, the varied individual characteristics (quality, experience, style, medium, etc.) of the artists imply different exhibition and selling opportunities and processes. Similarly, different levels of effort by artists, different access to exhibition opportunities, and different approaches to exhibiting and selling their work may result in varying degrees of success.

Exhibitors include gallery owners and operators, museum curators, members of coops, artists who exhibit their own work, promoters who arrange periodic shows, and the controllers of recognized occasional private and public spaces, such as bank managers and city councils. The exhibitors may participate directly in four of the subsystem processes, and may participate indirectly in the production process (through their influence over what artists create). Exhibitors are the primary initial outside evaluators and selectors of works. They perform a significant "gatekeeping" function at the second level (artists perform the first level gatekeeping function in the evaluation and selection of their own works for presentation to a broader public) and their selection decisions can be the key to success or failure of artists. Thus, the relationship between artists and exhibitors is a key element in the visual arts.

Critics occupy still another level of the gatekeeping function. They provide public evaluation of work which appears in some of the spaces regularly used for exhibition by professional artists. This limited coverage means that being reviewed can provide a positive payoff for the artist regardless of the content of the review. A positive review in a major publication is one of the symbolic rewards available to visual artists. Such rewards may multiply if other exhibitors, from more prestigious galleries and museums, use these evaluations as a basis for making their own selections. They can lead to financial reward as well, since collectors may use the critic as a guide when purchasing art. The rewards generated by critics are generally scarce, however, because critics perform their function on only a small proportion of the exhibited work.

Collectors or, more broadly, those who buy original art, provide the major financial linkage in the system. The purchase of art still exceeds other mechanisms (except jobs) in providing artists with support for their work. The linkage between buyer and artist generally takes place following some kind of exhibition function. This function may be through some intermediary, e.g., gallery, museum, agent, etc., or it may be directly between the artist and the buyer, e.g., in the artist's studio or gallery or at an art fair. Whatever the particular method of selling, the crucial step for the artists is to get their work before an audience likely to purchase art.* Exhibiting art in a space which receives the attention of a large buying public is one important route to producing sales, not only because of the number of potential buyers who may see the work, but because of the more personal connections between exhibitors and collectors. Among empirical issues to be addressed are the extent to which art is sold directly or through an intermediary (which we will discuss in subsequent chapters) and the mix of "collector"* and casual buyers (for which there are no data in this study). The particular buyer of a work can produce two types of rewards, monetary and symbolic. The former is indifferent to buyer status. The latter, a symbolic reward, is closely related to the status of the buyer. This is especially true if the buyer is a museum or other agency which will further disseminate (show) the artist's work, including information about the artists, and if the work is shown in a prestigious context, like a major museum. Thus, collectors, broadly defined, directly participate in evaluation, selection, dissemination, and reward processes in the socio-economic system of art. They also may have an indirect effect on the production process by the economic mechanism which changes or eliminates artists whose work is not purchased. As with each of the actors discussed, their effect is not uniform across all artists and markets and the specific pattern of interaction of actors across processes is subject to empirical evaluation. This evaluation of some of these processes is the subject of the remaining chapters in this study.

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*There are two exceptions. The first exists when the artist does not have selling as a major objective. The second is when name alone is sufficient to sell the work, as sometimes happens when printing houses, for example, sell out of a complete edition of an artist's work before buyers have ever seen it.

Beyond the purchase of art, many public and private organizations support artistic production in other ways. They may provide exhibition space, or indirect aid in the form of work space, support of second party exhibition, social services, or direct aid in the form of grants. These organizations may include individuals who provide a kind of personal patronage, private organizations, that have as a policy the support of visual arts, and public agencies, ranging from cities to the federal government, who supply space, money, and other benefits. These organizations and agencies may exert some influence over each of the five major subsystem processes. As with other actors except artists, the influence on production is usually indirect. Grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, for example, may allow artists to pursue a project that may not othe wise have been completed, thus increasing the amount of artistic production and experimentation. Such a grant may permit the artists to pursue their work more comfortably. In this instance, the effect on production is largely unknown. Support which expands exhibition space, such as the support of "alternative spaces may have the effect of increasing the production of certain kinds of art because it increases accessibility to otherwise excluded artists. Similar outcomes may result from the support of exhibits by special target groups in the population, e.g., Blacks and women. This kind of support represents a social policy which, consciously or unconsciously, has an impact on the operation of the existing visual arts socio-economic system.

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*"Collectors" may be individuals, private organizations, or public institutions, e.g., museums.

Virtually all aid from these groups has the effect of expanding the system because it provides support for the production, exhibition, and, by extension, sale of original art. They also influence the substance of the system because they cannot be neutral in their effect. A selection process is initiated with each purchase, grant, or other type of support and this process impacts different types of artists differently. In some instances the differences are between experienced and inexperienced artists. In others the differences are between socio-economic groups. In still other instances the style, medium or other characteristics of the art itself is the basis for inclusion or exclusion. But in no instance will the distribution of these support benefits be perfectly equitable, i.e., no artist, regardless of individual characteristic, medium, style, art form, experience, etc., will have an equal opportunity to participate in all benefits. This is true because qualitative selection processes are taking place and it is reflected in the experience of the artists (see Chapter 1).

The final actor is the media. In this instance we are not considering critics or paid advertising, but the general role of media in disseminating information about art and the visual arts. Because media (television, radio, newspapers, and magazines) play such a large role in the presentation of information, they can influence the behavior of potential arts audiences to a great extent. Differences in the coverage of visual arts events, for example, may affect the number of people who see the events, the amount of selling which occurs, and the potential for a particular art form to be successfully produced in a given geographic area. In other words, publicity can be very important in all visual arts processes. The different levels of coverage furnished by newspapers in the cities of this study provide an excellent example of the potential differences.

In the foregoing discussion we have presented, in largely abstract form, a description of the major actors in the visual arts socio-economic subsystem and an indication of how each actor can impact on the five major processes operating in this subsystem. It was an open-ended discussion, however, in that it specified only the potential interactive process without examining empirical circumstances. For example, while we postulate that artist/exhibitor interactions influence a variety of critical artistic outcomes, we have not described in detail what these outcomes are likely to be. In the next section we shall continue this discussion by examining the artist's role in somewhat greater detail.

The Artist's Role

Our interest in this study is to explore the social, economic, and professional conditions of the artist. The essence of the artist's role in the system is the production (creation) of visual art works--paintings, drawings, sculptures, video works, performances, environments, etc. That role may be extended to include exhibiting and selling the works,* i.e., participating in all of the processes that constitute the visual arts system. This system contains the structural arrangements within the framework of which the artists pursue their roles. These structures and processes, as described, provide limits to the artists' ability to achieve their artistic goals. Because the system is loose and there are a variety of approaches acceptable (a kind of artistic pluralism), constraints are ostensibly marginal. To the individual artist, however, barriers to free pursuit of an artistic vocation are substantial at each step in a career and through each phase of the process of creating, exhibiting and selling their work.

Figure 1.1 (p. 18) illustrates the nature of system from the artist's perspective. Of course, each artist sees a different set of eccentric circles. They may vary in relative size (the extent of the barrier) and order (the point at which each must be addressed). The set of barriers is circumscribed by the general environment in which the artist must work. This environment represents the socio-economic conditions in which the artists live and the choices in art form artists have made. Armed or saddled with these conditions, the artists develop strategies and make decisions about how to approach the three goals of their artistic ambitions, what kind of work to do, how to get it exhibited, and how to sell it. Approaches taken by artists will vary according to (1) the specific situation, (2) individual differences in problem-solving approach, and (3) differences in information about the system. Each of these conditions applies to all three artistic goals. In addition, these goals and the strategies for achieving them are interactive, so that a decision in one area influences the potential approaches and solutions available in other areas.

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*This study focuses on artists who have succeeded in at least the exhibition phase of their roles.

The final difference in approach is related to the level of effort each artist is willing to devote to the various aspects of art. Some artists see their art work as only a part-time activity or they devote less than full effort to exhibiting and selling their work. While it is possible to achieve some measure of success, this mode of operation is at least quantitatively different than a full-time artist or artists who deliberately spend more time on any or all aspects of their art. Thus, effort can be a major factor in the success and needs of professional artists.

The functioning of the visual arts system implies conditions likely to exist among artists trying to achieve one or all of the goals. We shall briefly describe these interactions here. The actual occurrence of these patterns is described in subsequent chapters.

Means of Support

Economic conditions, as discussed here, are more than income, sources of income, and the individual characteristics (demographics) associated with income. The economic condition of artists is a function of their general position in a socio-economic system and their position in the art system (or market). The former position is the result of both artistic and nonartistic capacities, i.e., the artists' ability to earn a living. Position in the art market is the result of the artists' ability to sell their work.* But this market position is the partial outcome of a number of factors which contribute to the production of art. These factors will be included in our discussion of the artists' means of support. They include: time, outside employment, work space, art expenses, and the availability of public support. Taken together, these factors may be conceptualized as the economic resources available to artists to perform their role in the art market.

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*If they cannot sell their work or do not want to, they are totally dependent on outside income, which may have important consequences for their artistic production.

a. Monetary resources include art and nonart income. Art income includes that which is earned from the direct sale of works and from awards or grants, and that which is earned from art-related jobs, e.g., teaching, curatorial jobs, etc. The nature of the art market has led to a situation where few artists are self-supporting from the sale of their work, i.e., the market does not support the number of "artists" in the system. A parallel to the historic patronage system is the employment of artists as teachers, especially in post-secondary schools. This system supports a large number of artists using both public and private funding sources. Despite this support there are many artists who seem to be left at the mercy of the market. In this group a high proportion may be working at jobs unrelated to their artistic vocational preferences.* This phenomenon may occur more among artists than it does among other professionally trained groups. Because there may be an artistic advantage for artists to be working in art-related jobs, this situation would create a bias in the opportunity of certain groups to advance in their field.

At a minimum, the inability of artists to earn a living wage from the sale of their art creates pressures on the production of their work which could reduce their effectiveness as artists.** These pressures distract from time available for creating and marketing work, and they can break down the social and informational networks necessary to pursue a career in the production of visual arts. Low income also can contribute to art supply problems, thus further limiting artistic production.

b. Household support is also a resource issue, but it brings an additional dimension (beyond the artist) to the discussion. Many artists may depend partially or in full on the support of some other household member, usually a husband or wife. This situation increases the freedom of the artist to pursue artistic objectives, production, marketing, or educational. It may also be presumed to be the impetus for pursuing many artistic careers because the freedom provided by outside support may permit many individuals to undertake art as a hobby prior to pursuing it as a vocation.

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*Some may prefer this separation. See our discussion of artists' comments in chapter 1.

**More broadly conceived, working as an art teacher or curator is indeed part of being an artist. Even artists supported by patronage also taught. In this sense a much larger share of the artists are supported by their art. Our discussion generally follows the narrower perspective and includes "art-related" jobs as a somewhat broader and separate category.

c. Time is another resource with economic implications. As mentioned above, the necessity for outside work reduces time for production and marketing.

Even teaching may reduce the level of effort artists can devote to the development of their work. Ideally, for the artist, it would be possible to devote full time to production and/or marketing art.* Insofar as outside work or other requirements intervene, the artistic potential of the artist is reduced. Most artists, therefore, must be continuously engaged in a conflict between the time demands of earning a living and those of doing art. In some instances the conflict is between doing and marketing art (also an economic pressure), which may lead to the perception of the market system as being restrictive on the creative opportunities of artists.

Many artists may choose a trade-off between their art and their economic well-being by working only part-time. This reduces immediate income, but presumably increases the long-term economic potential of the artists by providing more time for artistic development. It is a trade-off which seems particularly suitable for younger artists who are less likely to have family obligations.

d. The availability of work space is a resource which may be a function of available funds, the character of the art being produced, the home living situation, the nature of an artist's job, or some outside source. The absence of sufficient studio space can seriously reduce an artist's ability to produce and develop work. Those artists who can work in a home studio have an advantage in this area. If they can afford an outside studio, there is probably even a greater advantage, although there is also an associated cost.

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*Some artists might prefer to devote less than full time to these activities. While this might reduce production, it could increase quality for many.

e. Sales are a resource for those who are fortunate enough to be successful in this area. In situations where an intermediary (agent, dealer, etc.) is used, the value of a sale is reduced by the cost of the agent. However, the use of an agent may increase exposure and the volume of sales, thereby increasing the overall return to the artist. Direct sales may include studio sales, membership in some kind of coop, and sales at periodic shows, such as art fairs. Generally, these may be less rewarding because the level of contact with a buying public is lower. However, many artists are successful either because their work is suited to this approach* or they possess the initiative and skill to promote their own work.

f. External support, through public or private agencies, is the final general resource area. This support may take the form of money or services. Financial aid comes in the form of grants. When unencumbered, these grants permit the artists to pursue their own artistic interests with less concern about providing for survival. Some of the aid takes the form of commissions where a specific product is required. Unencumbered or slightly encumbered support is not widely available relative to the number of artists who desire it. Thus, the competition is extremely heavy and only a small proportion of the artists who consider themselves deserving actually receive aid. In addition, it is not clear that such support is distributed in an unbiased way. Because of some of the characteristics of the system, such as a focus on a limited number of art centers (pyramiding) and the influence of notables on the type of art currently popular, it is possible that certain artists or approaches may have an advantage over others in obtaining support. This situation is likely to characterize virtually any support system, so the real issue for artists is how it impacts on their personal chances to receive aid.

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*For example, potters, as a group, seem to be suited to the art fair approach.

Public agencies like the National Endowment for the Arts and the various state arts agencies operate with public funds and are subject to greater public scrutiny. This suggests a democratization of the distribution process, but it has also introduced many new organizational constraints (Useem, 1976; Demaggio and Useem, 1978). Not the least of these problems is a complex layer of bureaucracy and, in the case of the Endowment, a large degree of centralization. Because such public agencies have been increasing (until recently) their role in the support of visual arts, artists have had either to adjust to the new system requirements or be shut out of a major source of external funding.

A recently emerging source of funding for the visual arts is the private corporation. As with other patronage, this support is pointed. Because such support is often designed for the economic or promotional advantage of the company, there is a tendency to provide support which will maximize gains in those areas. Again, this means that certain types of art or artist are likely to be chosen over other types, i.e., not everyone has the same opportunity and the "quality" of the art is not the only, or even the major, criterion. While not all private patronage takes this form, artists are faced with a situation in which they must learn how to cope with the system, as well as produce quality work, if they want to take advantage of these support opportunities.

Another new type of external support takes the form of a variety of services that may be provided to artists by individuals or organizations. While this support is usually not monetary, it can have important economic implications. Most of this support is designed to assist the artist in coping with the system. It includes legal aid, employment or training opportunities, and information. Sometimes individuals are responsible as in supplying a job or providing free art-related legal advice. In other instances, organizations are formed, often of artists and non-artists, which attempt to provide a variety of these services; not the least of which is information about employment, exhibition, or the art world in general. Artists' Equity may be classified as such an organization. As artists take advantage of such organizational services they are likely to expand. If they are not responsive to artists' perceived needs they will die or, as is the case with some local groups, become too narrow in perspective to be of much use to artists in general.

g. The final issue addressed under the support construct is not really support at all, but expenditures. A major factor in the economic role of an artist is the relationship of required expenses in the production of art and the support received to cover those expenses. Insofar as this ratio is greater than one, the artists will have difficulty maintaining their artistic production. Some forms of art are substantially more expensive to produce than others. This leaves artists working in these areas at a relative disadvantage, especially younger artists who are less likely to have support from their art or non-art jobs. Thus, even in the area of production expenditures, there are potential inequities which are not related to the quality of the work.

The empirical economic conditions of artists, as manifest in our data, are presented in Chapter 4.

Attempting to Exhibit

The second dimension of the artist's role, after production, is the exhibition of completed works. We have already described the environment which artists must face in attempting to have their work exhibited. However, these constraints do not dictate a single exhibition avenue open to each artist. The artist is free to make a variety of strategic and tactical decisions about how to become "successful" in a particular environment (i.e., geographic location), or even to move to a different environment. The technique used by individual artists is a function of three interactive elements: (a) their approach to exhibiting; (b) the information they possess about the system; and (c) the accessibility the system actually offers. Approach may not be identified without accompanying information and in light of accessibility. Information can expand or limit accessibility from the artist's perspective. Approach may be independently determined as well. The interests and personality of the artist can play a significant part in how this aspect of the artist's role is played.

Finally, our discussion cannot include the quality dimension. If all other factors were equal, some artists would be more successful because their work was judged to be of superior quality. The relevance of this discussion is dependent upon the extent to which quality alone is not the sole determining factor in the exhibition success of an artist. In the previous section we developed an argument which demonstrated factors contributing to the production of art in a manner independent of the quality of the artist. In this section we shall describe conditions which can contribute to the exhibition of art and which are independent of the quality of the art as well. In the chapters following and, to some degree, in the first chapter, we present empirical evidence of these conditions. Ultimately we will discuss actions which can be taken to reduce, but certainly not eliminate the impact of these conditions and move the system in the direction of a quality market system that most artists seem to desire.*

a. Approach to exhibiting proceeds through a number of stages. The first decision is whether or not exhibition is the artist's goal. All of the artists in this study have, at one time or another during the three-year time frame, made a positive exhibition decision. Second, the artist must decide where to try to exhibit. This decision is presumably dependent on the experience, style, medium and perceived quality of the work. It also depends on the availability of spaces suitable to accommodate the particular set of characteristics contained in the artist's work. Given a wide variety of spaces, some of which are likely to show all types of art, the artists must make decisions about those spaces which are appropriate for their work. These decisions may include such factors as type of work the space usually shows, reputation of the space, potential for media exposure, cost of exhibiting, geographic location, ability to get along with the exhibitor, and the criteria used by the exhibitor to select works for showing. The decision process should lead to a list of spaces which contain the appropriate characteristics, i.e., they are likely to be places where the artist could show. Failure to succeed in the original list may lead to a reassessment of the artist's immediate potential and the development of a new list. It also includes different types of spaces, e.g., from private galleries to coops or alternative spaces, depending on the kind of reception artists are receiving and their exhibition objectives. Collectively, these factors are termed considerations and are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

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*Let us qualify these statements by saying that we do not expect system "biases," as defined in Chapter 1, to be eliminated. But by understanding how they work and how artists perceive and react to them, it may be possible to devise strategies (policies) which can reduce their effect and expand assessibility on a more equitable (based on quality) basis. We will leave to others the difficult issue of specifying quality.

Third, the artist must decide how to solicit a show. This is the point at which the artists present their work for evaluation and selection. There are a variety of ways this can be accomplished depending on what the artist and the exhibitor are willing to do. As was suggested in Chapter 1, these two perspectives are often mismatched. Approaches also may vary depending on the type of space. For art fairs it may only be necessary to purchase the space. Juried group shows may offer a kind of anonymity and this selection procedure is used for a wide variety of shows, from the local art club to important museum shows. A show in a private gallery is usually a function of some kind of interaction with the gallery director/owner. These interactions, which are the most frequently discussed among professional artists, can take a variety of forms. The range is from walking in off the street to present work to formal introduction in social settings to indirect referrals by mutual friends or admirers. Artists may be faced with any of these situations in attempting to exhibit in spaces selected to meet their own criteria. Attempting to join coops or exhibit in alternative spaces follows a similar format, except that the criteria for selection are likely to be different. The actions taken by artists in this area are called efforts and their empirical manifestation is described in Chapter 6.

b. The particular route taken by artists also depends on the amount of accurate information they possess. To be effective in maximizing their individual accessibility functions artists must know about spaces which meet their criteria and how to approach the controller of those spaces. For juried shows this includes information on the type of show, when it will be held, where to take work, and the experience (exhibition) level of the competition. For galleries, artists should be aware of the style of work shown, the general experience level of the artists, and the procedures for evaluating and selecting preferred by the proprietor. Failure to have this information could lead to rejection and bad feelings and will certainly lead to unnecessary work by the artist.

Other information which could directly increase accessibility includes knowledge of exhibition opportunities in other areas, knowledge of places and settings where useful personal contacts can be made, and knowledge of current opportunities in local spaces (e.g., a gallery has dropped someone from its regular "stable" of artists). Indirect advantages could be gained through any technique which helps the artists to improve their work. Thus, knowing about current national trends or the latest developments in art could lead the artist to adopt a style more likely to be exhibited. The use of these topics of information is described in Chapter 6.

The approach taken by artists may be a function of two factors, personal preferences for establishing exhibition related contacts and the amount of information they possess about exhibition processes. Developmentally, we can assume the artist starts with no information and proceeds only on preferences. As experience grows the approach may be accommodated to the situation encountered. Generally, this accommodation should increase the chances for exhibition (at a given quality). Artists with different styles or media will receive different types of information (feedback) and, presumably, will adopt different procedures. Certain types of activity, e.g., establishing personal contacts, may be outside the realm of acceptable practice for some artists. In taking such a position they can limit their chances to exhibit.

Possessing accurate information and experience does not necessarily lead to the artist's acceptance of the system or the system's acceptance of the artist. Some artists "drop out" because they are unwilling to adopt approaches they perceive as necessary to exhibit. Some systems may not have the capacity to accept the type of art produced. In our study, for example, Minneapolis was not well equipped, in terms of spaces then available, to accommodate radically different art. Environmental artists have even greater problems since there are few exposure systems which include the means to show environmental works, let alone works which can be created and shown only outside.

Finally, even if we control for style, medium and experience, there is sufficient variety in most larger systems, such as the four studied here, to permit successful variation in approach. Each city studied, for example, has some gallery spaces which were accessible to "walk-in" artists. Other spaces, which showed similar style and quality art, were operated on a more closed basis. If one were to do a detailed examination of the selection style of each space, it would probably be possible to specify the precise probability of receiving a fair evaluation in each city for each type of artist. Artists, however, do not have the time or need to perform such an evaluation. Nothing short of increasing the amount of space will satisfy all artists who want to exhibit. Information, if it is equally distributed, will provide equal opportunity within the limits of available space for each type of art. Maldistributed information gives the informed artist a better chance, that is, greater accessibility, to potential exhibition spaces.

c. Accessibility has been extensively discussed in the foregoing paragraphs as it is related to approach and information. However, it does have limits. The limits, at a given point in time and in a given geographic area, are the conventional art exhibition spaces, coops, galleries, museums, etc., and those alternative spaces that proprietors are willing to recognize and use for the purpose of exhibiting art. Most artists are limited to the conventional spaces. Generally, only exceptional circumstances provide unique opportunities to expand beyond these limits, and then often only temporarily.

Accessibility changes primarily with the opening and closing of alternative and more conventional spaces. Over the past few years, the opening of new spaces has been the dominant condition in the four cities studied. However, accessibility to exhibition spaces is still uncertain and the uncertainty is increased by the lack of information on the part of the artists.

Beyond space and information limitations are the limits imposed by the art system and its participants. For example, rewards, such as critical recognition and large serious audiences, are often available only to those artists who show in conventional spaces.

These kind of rewards are not only less available for showing in alternative spaces but they do not necessarily apply to the kind of work many alternative spaces show (specifically to nonsalable, temporary art). Perhaps other rewards, more intrinsic in nature that come from the exploration of new ideas and modes of artistic production (performances for example) need to be internalized by artists. As long as artists who do innovative work expect the same rewards as those available through conventional means of exhibition and for more conventional art work the dilemma of access to such rewards will remain unresolved. As new reward structures develop, internally and externally, accessibility will also expand.

Selling Art

The primary markets for selling original art are private individuals and collectors, corporate "collectors," wholesalers (decorators, furniture stores, etc.), and public collections (museums and government agencies). The individuals and collectors market is the largest. The primary techniques for selling are direct sales (artist to buyer) from the studio, sales through agents (dealers, gallery, etc.),* commissions,** sales generated in competitive shows, and sales in open markets (art fairs, mall shows, etc.). It is this interaction of buyers and artists, through various sales techniques, that constitutes the art market. Because our study focuses on the supply side of this market, the brief analysis presented here will present factors and interactions from that perspective.

The market economy leaves open the techniques available for selling work. Very well known artists often use galleries, but may be able to function equally as well by relying on their reputation. For artists at the middle level of experience and recognition, some kind of agent seems to provide the most efficient method for achieving increased exhibition and sales. Less recognized artists may rely more heavily on direct contact methods for sales because they are not always able to establish the helpful gallery connections. Contact with a buying public may be more easily established through the use of open markets like art fairs.

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*Included in this category are sales through coops, where the coops, where the coop has the agent function.

**The definitional difference between commissions and direct sales is that in the former case a specific request is generated before the work is created.

Less recognized artists may rely more heavily on direct contact methods for sales because they are not always able to establish the helpful gallery connections. Contact with a buying public may be more easily established through the use of open markets like art fairs.

Accessibility to sales is similar to exhibition accessibility since many sales rely on reaching a wider unknown audience. Thus, the techniques, such as using coops and entering open competitions, used by unexperienced artists to exhibit their works apply equally to selling their works. The impact of greater exposure is an important contributor to expanding sales among artists with lower recognition in the art-buying audience. Using coops as an exhibition vehicle is one of the techniques to overcome this problem. For artists whose work is radically different from mainstream forms the problem is more difficult because there are even fewer outlets and a much smaller potential audience. At the extreme are artists whose work is not permanent. In this instance almost all "sales" (grants, sponsorship of events, etc.) related support comes from the public sector. Similarly, artists whose work is extremely large scale must rely on buyers who have a place to show and can afford the work.* This limits the market to large corporate or public agencies (museums and cities buying large sculptures for public locations both fit into this group.

In a market economy, price is generally considered to be a function of supply and demand. For original works of art, a depressed price structure might be predicted because the supply seems to greatly exceed the demand, i.e., many artists attempting to sell their work seem not to be successful. Yet, recent history has shown a highly inflated art price structure. Part of the explanation lies in the extensive speculation which has forced up prices of works by well-known artists. Another dimension is general inflation, which means that the cost of producing art and just surviving has greatly inincreased. Both of these factors influence the price of art done by lesser known and inexperienced artists. For inexperienced artists the prices they de demand are a major factor in their inability to sell their work since buyers buyers (and dealers) are less willing to pay high prices for "unknown" art. Thus, the potential to sell one work at a higher price may outweigh a more immediate reward produced by selling cheaply. In addition, the idea of a fair wage, based at a minimum on the amount of effort put into a work, is becoming increasingly popular among younger artists. These perspectives can influence the development of artistic careers by limiting artists secondary exposure opportunities (those created by sales) and their capacity to continue to produce their work.

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*Even the cost of production for large-scale pieces must often be underwritten by the buyer.

Exhibiting and selling in a gallery context can impact on price also. The commission taken by galleries can force up prices, reduce the amount the artist receives (by forcing the artist to take a wholesale price from the dealer), or both. The price of greater exposure and an increased potential for sales, for lesser known artists, is a smaller reward for individual items or possibly being priced out of the market. This is another reason that artists often seek a more direct means of selling their works or combine the indirect and direct sales approaches. It is also a source of possible friction between artists and their galleries because the latter may suffer as a result of being in competition with their own artists.

Empirical Implications

The foregoing development has as its objective provision of a context for the study of production, exhibition and selling behavior of professional visual artists. The analysis described the general socio-economic context in which the visual arts subsystem functions and suggested some implications, in terms of the behavior of artists, which might be the result of that context. This development is the result of both deductive and inductive reasoning. The basic socio-economic model suggests the parameters of relationships which may exist in the visual arts subsystem. These have to do with how art functions as a commodity in the system and how artists must operate within the framework of that system. Our discussions with artists about their problems and concerns, described in Chapter 1, contributed to some of the detailed development of the ideas in the overall system. The basic issues pursued in this analysis were:

1. How do artists support themselves in a system which seems to offer little direct assistance beyond the funds obtained from the sale of art?

2. How are the artists' roles as artists related to their ability to support themselves?

3. How is the economic condition of artists related to the three-tiered system, artist-dealer-buyer, which is a dominant manifestation of the socio-economic system?

4. Does the pluralistic art system offer artists with different approaches differential advantages in producing, exhibiting, and selling their work?

5. How does the market system affect exhibition opportunities (accessibility) for artists and is there differential opportunity based on the art form used by the artist?

6. How are exhibition and economic conditions related?

7. Are there geographic differences in the functioning of the visual arts subsystem?

8. How are artists efforts, time devoted to art roles, related to experience and success?

9. What is the role of economic and exhibition support supplied through means outside the basic socio-economic system (i.e., individual production and the exhibition and selling of art to various art customers)?

These issues may be divided into many specific subissues which will be generated during our description of the empirical results.

The questions being highlighted here are not presented as formal hypotheses for two reasons. First, the original objectives of the study were to describe artists' needs and behaviors related to exhibiting art. These descriptions require a framework for asking relevant questions, but they do not require specific hypotheses about the impact of the system on individual behavior. Second, in large measure this study is exploratory. The conceptual framework presented here suggests the kinds of activity we may expect to observe, but it is not specific enough for the development of individual hypotheses. In addition, the pluralistic system, differences in perceived ability, and differences in reactions (approaches) of artists to the system are issues which have not been fully described. The results of the survey portion of the study will help to illuminate some of these issues and suggest further theoretical and empirical development.

At a more general level, however, the conceptual framework does posit the existence of certain general conditions which may be verified in the empirical analysis. The pluralism of approaches, mentioned above, is one of conditions.

Others include differences in approach and accessibility based on art form and experience. As we develop the empirical results of the study we shall continue to examine confirmation and disconfirmation of the assumptions presented in this conceptual framework.

One question purposely avoided was the "quality" of the art. It is the factor which produces much of the unexplained variance in the visual arts system. The socio-economic factors contribute a context and imply a set of behaviors necessary for success. Yet, all artists who understand the system and their accessibility to that system* will not have the same degree of success. The difference is perceived quality of the work. There is no way that a study such as this can isolate the impact of this perception. Our intent is to examine the impact of other factors by describing, on an aggregate basis, the condition and behavior of artists. Following a brief description of the methodology of the study, the remainder of this report will be given to that end.

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*Including such factors as the impact of art form, geography, style, medium, price, and process.

METHODOLOGY

In this section we provide a brief description of the procedures used to develop instruments and collect the data. Part of the development includes definition of key concepts used in defining the scope of the study. A detailed description of this process is presented in Appendix B. Descriptions of analytic steps are presented in each chapter, along with results.

Data collection was a six-step process: 1. defining artist populations; 2. identifying relevant exhibition spaces; 3. identifying artists; 4. interviewing artists; 5. developing a survey questionnaire; and 6. surveying the artists.

Defining Artist Populations

The National Endowment for the Arts (the funding agency) limited the scope of the study to professional visual artists in four cities (San Francisco, Washington, DC, Houston, and Minneapolis).* These cities represent what may be called second-level art centers, behind the major centers like New York and Los Angeles. In developing the scope of the study, professional visual artists were defined as those artists who had exhibited at a local recognized visual arts space during the three years prior to the beginning of data collection, 1976-1978. Recognized spaces were defined to include the following: (a) private commericial galleries; (b) public galleries and museums; (c) artist run cooperatives; (d) public or private spaces which had regular professionally directed exhibitions as a secondary function, e.g., the World Bank in Washington, D.C., and some major libraries;** and (e) alternative spaces, including full-time spaces, e.g., Washington Project for the Arts and 80 Langton St. in San Francisco, and occasional spaces which showed radical or avant-garde art. Not included in the study were art fairs, art club or association shows or membership, spaces not professionally managed, like banks and restaurants, and student exhibitions.*

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*The cities, as used in this study, include surrounding communities. San Francisco includes Oakland, Berkeley, and their close suburbs. Washington, DC, includes Montgomery and Prince Georges counties in Maryland, and Fairfax county in Virginia. Houston includes surrounding suburbs and Galveston. Minneapolis includes St. Paul and surrounding suburbs.

**We depend on local expertise to identify these spaces in each city.

Visual artists of all media and styles were included in the study except those generally classified as working in crafts. Thus, painters, sculptors, print makers, drawers, photographers, film and video artists, conceptual artists, environmental artists, etc., were included. Not generally included were potters, jewelers, weavers, wood carvers and other craft or folk art artists.**

The limits on types of art and spaces were applied to fit sponsor objectives, because of limited resources, and to make data analysis manageable. There are no implied value judgments on the importance of groups excluded from the study.

Identification of Spaces

A local consultant and various gratis local experts participated in the space identification process in each location. Initial lists were drawn from art directories and telephone books. These lists were expanded to include non-obvious spaces by reviewing lists with local experts. Only those exhibition spaces which had shown local contemporary artists during the previous three years were included. This means that some well known nationally oriented galleries were not on our lists. The number of spaces identified in each city was:

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*Faculty exhibitions in college or university galleries were considered professional exhibits.

**Although some of these artists, especially those working in clay or cloth, were ultimately included in the sample because they showed in spaces normally exhibiting other types of visual artists.

San Francisco	- 233
Washington, DC	- 122
Houston	- 83
Minneapolis	- 110

We estimate these lists include about 95 percent of the target spaces operating at the time they were generated. Some additional names were generated from galleries that had recently closed. About 80 percent of these were private galleries. In San Francisco there were 6.4 percent coops and "alternative spaces." In Washington, DC, and Minneapolis there were slightly less than 5 percent. Houston had the smallest proportion of such spaces--2.4 percent.

Identification of Artists

Artist names were obtained from the exhibition spaces by asking them to generate lists of local artists who had exhibited in their space during the previous three years. These lists were to include artistic medium and type of exhibition as well. This cooperation was generated with explanatory letters and follow-up telephone calls. In some instances, study staff members went to the spaces to generate and copy lists. About 90 percent of the space proprietors and directors agreed to cooperate, 15 to 20 percent fewer actually did comply by the specified deadline.

The resulting lists of "local professional" artists included 2,200 from San Francisco, 1,089 from Washington, DC, 459 from Houston and 693 from Minneapolis. Other names were collected in each city, but were excluded because they did not meet inclusion criteria or because information was incomplete. In addition, a special effort was made to identify professional artists known to be working in the area, but not currently exhibiting. Again local experts were used, but this effort produced few new names.

Because of multiple exhibitions, the failure of some galleries to cooperate probably did not have a significant impact. Artists most likely to be excluded are those with one or two shows (individual or group) during the target period. We perceived no noticeable bias in the type of art shown in uncooperative spaces. However, the type of space least likely to cooperate was the small, less well known, private gallery. This could mean that lesser known artists are somewhat underrepresented in the identified artist populations.* Since this group still represents the largest portion of our sample and because much of the analysis was stratified on the exhibition history dimension, any underrepresentation would not necessarily signify a bias in the results.

Interviewing Artists and Exhibitors

Once the exhibition space and artist populations were defined, small samples from each group were identified and invited to participate in discussions relevant to the objectives of the research. These sessions were held to provide broader and more practical perspectives on the issues artists perceived, the problems of accessibility, and the interaction of artists and exhibitors. Interviews were conducted in small groups with artists divided _roughly_ along media lines (painters and sculptors, printmakers and photographers, and "_avant-garde_" artists) and exhibitors divided by type (commercial galleries, museums and public spaces, and coops and alternative spaces). Where possible, further divisions were made between artists who were widely known and those with less experience. Similarly, highly reputed galleries were sometimes separated from lesser known galleries. The purpose of these divisions was an attempt to reduce the diversity of the groups so discussions could be more focused. Because the information used to define the groups was often incomplete (it was provided largely by exhibitors who were uneven in their response to these questions), mistakes in assignment were sometimes made. These misassignments caused little problem in the meetings.

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*This group, i.e., artists with fewer shows and those likely to have shown in a small number of group shows, is, however, well represented in our subsequent samples as the results chapters will show.

There were from 6 to 10 group meetings in each city. There were also a number of individual interviews and informal discussions with critics, local art notables and artists. All group sessions and interviews were conducted by the authors. Group sessions were generally held in places highly visible to artists, e.g., museums, the public library, or well known galleries. Attendance at artist sessions was from 6 to 20, with an average of about 15. Generally, about 25 to 30 were invited. The attendance at exhibitor sessions depended on the number of spaces in each category. For coops and "alternative spaces" groups were small, but attendance was high. A similar result was obtained for museums and other public spaces. Attendance by gallery proprietors varied, but all types of galleries were represented in each of the cities.

Questionnaire Development

The results of group sessions and the general model were used to develop questions relevant to the objectives of the study. The questionnaire went through several revisions and contains significant contributions from Endowment staff members as well as the authors. The general foci of the questionnaire included: 1. art form; 2. exhibition history; 3. economic status (including art income and expenditures); 4. the process of getting exhibited (including behavior and information items); 5. general information about art; and 6. demographic characteristics. Artists were also given the opportunity to express their own views about any art-related subject in an open-ended question at the end of the survey. A complete questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix A.

The Survey of Artists

Sample Selection

The final phase of the data collection was a general survey of artists in each of the four cities. Our intention was to contact approximately 2,000 artists, or about 500 from each city. Because of the unequal numbers of artists in each city, actual sample sizes were as follows: San Francisco--516, Washington, DC--521, Houston--459, and Minneapolis--693. The latter two samples represent all artists identified in those cities. In San Francisco and Washington, DC, random samples of each population were taken. The samples were drawn using a random starting point and an equal skip interval, 4 for San Francisco and 2 for Washington, DC. Given the survey technique and length of the questionnaire, we were expecting a return of between 1,000 and 1,200 surveys.

Survey Procedure

The survey technique used in this study was mail. Each sample member was sent a letter describing the purpose of the study and indicating that a survey would follow. The surveys were mailed to either home or gallery addresses depending on which was available.* A reminder post card was sent about 10 days following the initial mailing. As a final encouragement, a registered letter containing a new questionnaire was sent to all those who had not responded in three weeks.

The follow-up procedure required that artists be identified through that phase of the study. Once the survey portion was complete, however, surveys and individual respondent identifications were disassociated. All results are anonymous; connections between specific answers and the respondent cannot be made.

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*Those artists for whom we had no home address or private gallery address were excluded from the study. That is why sample sizes are slightly smaller than expected in some cases.

Returns

Table 2.1 presents return rates for the four cities. The overall rate was 47.4 percent (940 returns) which is somewhat lower than we anticipated. As the Table shows, return rates for each city were very close. In each city there were a significant number of undeliverable surveys which were not counted in the return rate.

Table 2.1

Survey Return Rates

	City			
	San Francisco	Washington, DC	Houston	Minneapolis
Surveys Mailed	521	516	459	693
Surveys Undeliverable	62	49	53	42
Good Surveys (assumed delivered)	459	467	406	651
Proportion of Usable Responses	49.2%	48.4%	48.0%	45.0%

While we would have liked higher return rates, we feel the respondents who did return surveys represent a reasonable cross-section of professional artists in the four cities. Virtually all types of artistic modes and exhibition experience level are represented. In addition, we know from comments that accompanied the returns that many of the artists who responded were hostile to the idea of doing a survey about their art-related activities. The fact that they completed the survey anyway suggests that if a difference in the artistic experience of the hostile group exists, it is also represented in our results.

The return rate does, however, suggest caution in interpreting results. The greatest problems probably exist in projecting aggregate results to a total artist population. While an N of 940 indicates an expected sampling error of about ±2.5 percent (at the .05 level) which is quite small, the low return rate probably increases that error significantly. Unfortunately, there is no proven procedure for calculating the increased error on a post hoc basis. That is, there is no way to demonstrate that those who did not respond are any different than those who did respond except in the fact of answering our questions.

Much of our analysis is concerned with the relationship of exhibition, economic, and process issues. These analyses examine individuals and are only subsequently aggregated. Thus, the crucial issues of how these factors relate within each subject should not be distributed by a marginally low response rate. Whether aggregated groups are representative of population distribution, however, is still an issue of concern. We would estimate that the sampling error is greater than 2.5 percent but probably not more than 20 percent. We also see no indication that the results are biased, i.e., that nonrespondents are significantly different than respondents on important issues. However, since we cannot definitively answer this question, we will leave it to the readers to evaluate our results against their own experience.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND ART FORM CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of basic demographic and artistic characteristics of our sample. The socio-demographic characteristics examined here include: age (25)*; professional age (32)**; gender (26); ethnicity and race (27); marital status (37); number of dependents (38); art education (29); and regular education (30). The distribution for each characteristic will be presented for the combined samples and for each city. In an attempt to obtain some idea of the character of the art created by each respondent we asked the artists to indicate their art form (1) and any additional characteristics of their art they wished to provide (2). Results of these questions are presented in Table 3.9 and, in Appendix C, Table 2.

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[*] Numbers in parenthesis are survey question numbers. The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix A.

[**] The length of time the respondent has been a practicing visual artist.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Age

Age and professional age distributions are presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 respectively.* All respondents are 18 or older with an overall median age of 38 years. Washington, DC, artists are somewhat older (median age of 43 years) and Houston artists are somewhat younger (median age of 36 years).** The median age of the combined samples, 38 years, is similar to the 1970 national census figures on artist ages. In the census report, the median age for painters and sculptors was 38 and for photographers was 39.

While Washington, DC, artists are older, they are not likely to have more experience than artists in the other cities. San Francisco artists are more likely to have over ten years experience (63 percent) than artists in any of the other cities (52 percent or 53 percent). In Washington, DC, artists seem to start later. In San Francisco, the core of professional artists seems to be somewhat more established. In Houston, the younger chronological age and medium professional age suggests artists start art careers somewhat sooner than in the other cities. Houston also is characterized by a more mobile artist population, with a larger proportion of the exhibiting artists likely to be recent arrivals in the area.

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*The total N represented in Table 3.1 and subsequent tables in this chapter is the number of respondents who answered the particular question being considered. There were 940 total respondents; thus, Tables 3.1 and 3.2 have 96 percent response rates. Table 3.3 is just below 98 percent, and so on.

**The distribution of number of years the artists have been residing in their area indicates that 26.1 percent of Houston's artists have been living there for no more than five years, as compared to 7.5 percent in Minneapolis, 16.4 percent in San Francisco, and 18.1 percent in Washington, DC. The average length of stay is 16 years in Houston, 22 in Minneapolis, 13 in San Francisco, and 18 in Washington, DC. Thus, Houston's artists population is heavily weighted with newcomers while Minneapolis' artists are more of a long-time residents of their city.

The age differences across cities in Table 3.1 and the professional age difference presented in Table 3.2 suggest that Houston artists are more likely to exhibit at a younger age than artists in the other cities, possibly because of a smaller established artist population in that city. San Francisco artists have the most experience before they exhibit. Compare 14.5 percent of the San Francisco artists with less than five years experience to 23.4 percent for Houston. The median experience of exhibited artists is fifteen years in San Francisco, and only 11 or 12 years in the other cities. These figures support the known history or artistic development in these cities; to wit, that San Francisco has been an artistic center for longer than the other cities in this study.

TABLE 3.1. Age by City

AGE	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
18-29 years	18.5 (161)	15.2	16.2	19.2	23.9
30-39 years	34.8 (314)	26.1	40.3	35.5	37.2
40-49 years	21.8 (197)	25.6	20.8	19.9	21.8
50-59 years	15.7 (142)	21.3	12.0	17.1	11.7
60 and older	9.1 (82)	11.8	10.6	8.4	5.3
Total (N)	100.0 (902)	100.0 (211)	100.0 (216)	100.0 (287)	100.0 (188)
Mean	41 years	44 years	40 years	40 years	38 years
Median	38 years	43 years	38 years	38 years	36 years
Range of Ages	18-24	18-83	20-76	20-83	20-84

TABLE 3.2. Professional Age: Number of Years as a Practicing Artist by City

AGE	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Up to 5 years	19.0 (171)	21.0	14.5	18.1	23.4
6-10 years	26.6 (239)	28.0	23.2	25.1	25.0
11-15 years	17.7 (159)	15.9	16.4	17.7	21.2
16-20 years	13.7 (123)	11.2	17.3	15.6	9.2
21-25 years	7.7 (69)	8.4	9.5	5.7	7.6
26-30 years	5.8 (52)	5.1	5.9	5.3	7.1
30 or more years	9.7 (87)	10.3	13.2	8.5	6.5
Total (N)	100.0 (900)	100.0 (214)	100.0 (220)	100.0 (282)	100.0 (184)
Mean	15 years	15 years	17 years	15 years	14 years
Median	12 years	11 years	15 years	12 years	11 years
Maximum Number of Years as a Practicing Artist	59 years	58 years	59 years	59 years	59 years

Gender

Table 3.3 shows the distribution of gender in the sample. For the total sample the division is virtually even between men (49.2 percent) and women (50.8 percent). However, the individual cities have greater differences.

TABLE 3.3. Gender by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Female	50.8 (466)	65.8	49.4	42.0	48.9
Male	49.2 (452)	34.2	50.6	58.0	51.1
Total (N)	100.0 (918)	100.0 (219)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (288)	100.0 (190)

Washington, DC, has the widest difference with 65.8 percent women and only 34.2 percent men. Only Minneapolis reflects possible biases in favor of men expected by many artists during the course of our discussions. Many female artists described selection biases which could suggest that our sample would be heavily weighted in the direction of male artists (because it includes only those who have previously exhibited). The failure to find these differences at this level of analysis is partially the result of differences in survey response rates. For example, the population of Washington, DC, artists used to draw the sample had about 58 percent women and 42 percent men.* The 65.8 percent women among those returning questionnaires indicates that women were more likely than men to respond to the survey. Assuming that this position held for the other cities, it appears that in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Houston men were more likely to have exhibited.** This outcome parallels findings of the national census study which showed that 37 percent of the painters and sculptors were women and 63 percent were men (NEA, 1978).* In Washington, DC, however, women were more likely to have exhibited. There was nothing in the discussions which provided a compelling explanation for the differences which occurred.**

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*Based on a rough count using name as the only available indicator of gender.

**Of course, we have no indication of the number of men and women who tried, but failed, to exhibit during the three-year period being studied. Thus, the comments of some artists are the only evidence of any documentation based on gender.

Ethnic and Racial Characteristics

Table 3.4 shows the ethnic and social characteristics of sample respondents.

TABLE 3.4. Ethnic and Racial Characteristics by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Black, Afro-American	3.1 (23)	5.5	1.3	0.7	6.3
Hispanic, Chicano, Mexican-American	1.1 (10)	1.8	0.9	-	2.1
Native American Indian	0.4 (4)	0.9	-	0.7	-
Oriental, Asian-American	2.0 (26)	1.4	8.5	0.3	1.6
White, Caucasian	91.1 (842)	89.1	87.5	98.3	86.9
Mixed	1.4 (13)	1.4	1.8	-	3.1
Total (N)	100.0 (924)	100.0 (220)	100.0 (224)	100.0 (289)	100.0 (191)

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*In Chapter 5 we examine differences in the quality of exhibition records which show a slight bias in favor of men (i.e., men have higher quality exhibition histories).

**For example, both Washington, DC, which had the highest proportion of professional women, and Minneapolis, which had the lowest proportion, had galleries devoted to women artists.

These results show a higher proportion of non-whites, 8.9 percent, than exist among painters and sculptors (7.5 percent) and among photographers (8.8 percent) in 1970. City distributions show expected concentrations of minority artists, Blacks in Washington, DC, and Houston, Hispanics in Houston, and Asians in San Francisco. Despite some difficulties in exhibiting, as discussed in Chapter 1, the proportion of Blacks in Washington, DC, and Hispanics in Houston probably constitute a larger percentage of exhibited artists than are represented in our results. The reason for this underrepresentation is largely accounted for in the difficulties encountered in identifying those artists who had exhibited in minority-oriented galleries in each city.* These figures also do not represent any selection bias which may exist in the exhibition of minority artists. Both Black artists in Washington, DC, and Hispanics in Houston argued that such biases exist and that any list based on exhibition record would underrepresent the number of practicing minority artists in those cities. In Houston, the Hispanic artists we talked to felt that it was easier for them to exhibit in other areas than in Houston.

While both Hispanic and Black artists appear to be underrepresented in the survey results, special efforts were made to include their perspective in group sessions described in Chapter 1 and throughout the other chapters.

Marital Status and Number of Dependents

In Table 3.5 and Table 3.6, the marital status and dependent obligations of the respondent sample are presented. A total of 62.4 percent were currently married. This compares to 70 percent of the married painters, sculptors, and photographers in the 1970 census (NEA, 1978). Both figures are substantially lower

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*In Houston, the one Hispanic gallery had closed a few months before the study began and it was not possible to obtain their exhibition records until after the survey portion of the study was complete. In Washington, DC, two of the key Black-oriented galleries did not provide artist lists.

TABLE 3.5. Marital Status by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Married	62.4 (719)	71.0	50.9	69.9	57.6
Separated	3.9 (45)	3.6	3.6	3.1	5.2
Divorced	12.7 (146)	6.8	20.3	7.5	16.2
Single	17.7 (204)	14.9	22.1	16.4	17.3
Widow or Widower	2.2 (26)	3.6	1.4	2.4	1.6
Share Living	1.1 (13)	-	1.8	0.7	2.1
Total (N)	100.0 (921)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (222)	100.0 (292)	100.0 (191)

TABLE 3.6. Number of Dependents by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Number of Dependents	47.2 (420)	45.1	52.1	43.7	49.2
1	19.4 (173)	18.0	20.7	20.4	18.2
2	18.4 (164)	23.8	12.7	18.3	19.3
3	8.9 (79)	7.3	10.8	9.8	7.0
4	3.9 (35)	2.9	3.3	4.6	4.8
5+	2.1 (19)	2.9	0.5	3.2	1.6
Total (N)	100.0 (890)	100.0 (206)	100.0 (213)	100.0 (284)	100.0 (187)

than the national figure of 86 percent married. The four city sample shows 16.6 percent of the artists as being separated or divorced, while the NEA study had significantly fewer--6 percent for photographers and 7 percent for painters and sculptors. Thus, while the same proportion of artists were once married, a somewhat larger percentage had been divorced by 1978 than was true in 1970.

There was considerable variation across city samples. San Francisco artists are least likely to be married and most likely to have been divorced. Washington, DC, artists are most likely to be married.

Slightly less than half (47.2 percent) of all respondents had no dependents. San Francisco artists, who were least likely to be married, were least likely to have dependents. Because our question included all dependents, both living and not living with the artist, it is not possible to draw a direct comparison to the 1970 data. The focus on total dependents was intended to provide an estimate of economic impact rather than social structure. This issue will be addressed again when we consider the economic status of the artists.

Education

The final socio-demographic variable to be examined here is education. We asked artists to provide two indicators of educational level, art education (Table 3.7) and non-art formal education (Table 1, Appendix C). Table 3.7 indicates a relatively high level of formal art education among professional artists. Almost one-third of the artists have at least a Master's Degree in Art, while only 7 percent indicated that they had no formal art education. A slightly higher percentage of the artists claim advanced and bachelor degrees in their formal education indicating that only a small percentage of the professional artists are trained in other areas. However, the formal training is less indicative of current occupation (see Chapter 4).

TABLE 3.7. Formal Training in the Visual Arts (Art Education)

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Masters Degree in Art	32.2 (301)	26.0	43.8	31.1	27.8
Bachelors Degree in Art/Art Education	32.0 (299)	29.1	28.1	38.6	29.9
Accredited Art Programs or Apprenticeship	28.8 (269)	37.7	21.4	24.6	33.5
No Formal Training. Self Taught	7.0 (65)	7.2	6.7	5.8	8.8
Total (N)	100.0 (934)	100.0 (223)	100.0 (224)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (194)

San Francisco artists are significantly more likely to have a Masters Degree than artists in other cities (43.8 percent to 26.0 percent, 31.1 percent, and 27.8 percent). This difference may be a reflection of strong art training programs in the San Francisco area. Washington, DC artists, on the other hand, are more likely to have come out of an apprenticeship or art school program rather than a formal degree granting institution. Minneapolis and Houston artists fall between the two extremes. The relationship of education to art form will be examined below. The relationship of education to exhibition history and other processes will be examined in subsequent chapters.

ART FORM

The Distribution of Art Forms

One of the most difficult conceptual tasks in this study was to find a generally acceptable means to classify artists in terms of the kind of art work they do. Any classification scheme would have an impact on the outcome of analyses on which it was based. Yet, it seemed clear that exhibitors made distinctions among different types of art in the work they showed. In some instances the distinction was based on medium, e.g., clay or fabric. In other cases a construct like "style" was invoked. For example, some galleries show only "abstract" art and others concentrated on "Western realism." Both of these approaches were unsatisfactory, for our purpose, because they were usually too interactive to provide a clear definition of what the artist was doing. As a compromise, we used two questions to attack this issue in the survey: the first was a closed question which required the artists to choose their "art form" from among thirteen categories; and the second was an open-ended question which simply asked the artists to "characterize" their work.* The art form categories used were: painting; sculpture; printmaking, drawing; photography; video; film/sound; conceptual; environmental; performance; craft related; multiple forms; and other.**

Over 99 percent of the respondents answered the first question (Table 3.8). Of those, only 2.2 percent indicated that they used an art form "other" than those listed. We cite these figures as an indication that artists seemed to understand the categories used despite the fact that no formal definitions were

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*See Appendix A, questions 1 and 2.

**"Other" forms listed included: fabrics/fiber; collage; design; paper; sound; glass; and stone.

TABLE 3.8. Art Form Most Often Used and Exhibited During 1975-1978

ART FORM	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Painting	33.0 (308)	33.3	33.3	33.9	30.7
Sculptive	13.5 (126)	11.6	12.4	17.5	12.5
Printmaking	6.5 (61)	12.0	8.9	2.4	3.6
Drawing	4.1 (38)	4.4	3.6	3.1	5.7
Photography	10.0 (93)	10.2	10.7	9.9	8.9
Video, Conceptual, Performance, Environmental	3.1 (29)	1.3	4.4	4.1	2.1
Crafts	6.4 (60)	5.8	5.3	10.6	2.1
Multiple Forms	20.9 (195)	19.6	20.0	15.1	32.3
Other	2.2 (21)	2.2	0.9	3.4	2.1
Total (N)*	100.0 (931)	100.0 (225)	100.0 (225)	100.0 (292)	100.0 (192)

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[*] N = number who answered the question. Total responses = 940.

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included in the questionnaire.* The degree to which these categories distinguish artists in other areas of their professional activity is one of the major issues addressed in subsequent chapters. In the remainder of this chapter we shall describe the distribution of these categories and their relationship to the socio-demographic characteristics of the artists.

As shown in Table 3.8, about one-third of the artists describe themselves as painters. The next largest group (20.9 percent) say they used "multiple forms" in their work. Next come sculptors (13.5 percent) and photographers (10.0 percent). Several categories, representing those artists who were working in newer non-traditional forms (video, conceptual, performance, and environmental) were combined because of the small numbers represented in each of the separate groups. They represent 3.1 percent of the sample. It is from this group, however, that the greatest relative number of complaints about how the selection system works was heard. Many artists working with these forms indicated that they found it extremely difficult to find exhibitors willing to show their work (see Chapter 1). Given this situation, it may be possible that this group is underrepresented in our sample, i.e., because they cannot get exhibited they would not appear in the population identified for the study. Our specific inquiries, however, did not identify a significant number of such unexhibited artists in any of the four cities.**

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*The second question, providing artists with an open-ended opportunity to characterize their work, was less successful because answers were multidimensional. That is, some artists answered in terms of medium, some chose style, and others chose more abstract dimensions like objectives. Since it was not possible to categorize all artists along the same dimension, these descriptives were not used in subsequent analyses. The results of this question, categorized simply as they appeared, are presented in Table 2 of Appendix C.

**These inquiries were based on personal knowledge of other artists and exhibitors in each city.

Printmakers (6.5 percent) and drawers (4.1 percent) constitute relatively small proportions of the total number of professional artists. Artists working in areas traditionally considered as crafts, e.g., potters, jewelers, weavers, etc., are only 6.4 percent of this sample, although they are probably a much larger percentage of the total artist population. This outcome was purposeful and resulted from the procedure by which artists were identified.* It was our intention to examine crafts related artists only as they fit into the exhibition system of other visual artists and not to make them a major focus of this study.**

The proportion of photographers provides another interesting perspective on the art scene in the four cities. Photography is a relatively new art form and, in the four cities included in this study, there are very few galleries devoted exclusively to the showing of "art" photography. Thus, the relatively large and consistant proportions of exhibition space devoted to photographics is somewhat surprising. Subsequent analyses will examine art form in terms of type of exhibition, which will help to explain the large proportion of photographers among professional artists.

There are remarkably few differences in the distribution of art forms among the four cities. The most significant differences are: (1) the large numbers of "multiple form" artists in Houston (32.3 percent compared to only 20.7 percent in the next highest city); and (2) the sharp differences in the proportion of printmakers in Minneapolis (2.4 percent) and Houston (3.6 percent), on the one hand, and Washington, DC, (12.0 percent) and San Francisco (8.9 percent), on the other. There seems to be no obvious explanation for the former difference. In the latter case, printmakers in both Minneapolis and Houston indicated a lack of acceptance of prints by local artists as a major factor in getting exhibited. Apparently those buyers with enough money to buy original prints were more likely to prefer and be able to afford artists with a national or international reputation.

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*Galleries which concentrated on functional crafts were specifically excluded, as were art fairs and craft shows which constitute the major exhibition outlet for many craft artists.

**As discussed in Chapter 1, this exclusion was based on resource availability and the fact that the craft arts constitute a substantially independent subsystem among visual artists. It was simply not practical to include them in this study.

Art Form and Demographic Characteristics

Tables 3 through 6 in Appendix C show the relationship between the art form most used by the artist during the past three years and four different socio-demographic characteristics, age, gender, race, and art education. The results of these tables will be summarized here and the reader may refer to the Table for greater detail.*

Using rounded figures, the distribution of artists by age is roughly as follows: 20 percent are 18-20 years old; 33 percent are 30-39; 20 percent are 40-49; and 25 percent are 50 or older. For each art form deviations from means are significant. Painters tend to be somewhat older than the average and are particularly unlikely (only 11.5 percent) to be in the youngest age category. Thus it appears that new artists are less likely to become painters. Artists working in new areas, e.g., video, conceptual, performance, environmental, and installation, are much younger than the average. Almost one-third are under 30 and fully 80 percent are under 40. This reflects the newness of some of the forms and perhaps a tendency of younger artists to gravitate to these forms. However, it should be remembered that this group constitutes only about 3 percent of all exhibited artists. Artists working in other art forms, except crafts, also tend to be younger than the average. Photographers and drawers are much younger; sculptors and printmakers are closer to the overall averages. Our data cannot tell us the extent to which these age distributions are the result of a change in emphasis (i.e., a historic or cohort change) or a function of age (i.e., experimentation by younger artists who may eventually switch to the more traditional art forms in later years).

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*It should be noted that the results presented in these tables are based on "weighted" data. This means that the results from each city are adjusted so that all cities make the same relative contribution to the final outcome. The fact that Minneapolis had more respondents, for example, does not mean that Minneapolis artists carry more weight than Houston artists in the aggregated results; they are equal. This procedure was adopted because some differences across cities were detected and we did not want these results to bias the aggregate presentations of cross-tabulated data. Weights are based on the relative number of respondents in each city sample. The total weighted N is 1,172 or 293 (the Minneapolis sample size) times 4.

The overall weighted distribution for gender is 48.8 percent male and 51.2 percent female* (Table 4, Appendix C). Females are substantially overrepresented among printmakers (61.8 percent), drawers (58.5 percent), crafts people (62.9 percent), and "multiple form" artists (64 percent). They are underrepresented among photographers (32.4 percent). The remaining art forms are distributed relatively close to the overall distribution (within 5 percentage points). Crafts have traditionally been associated with women, but in the other art forms the distributions may represent gains in areas not traditionally associated with women. The 1970 census data, for example, showed women as being only 17 percent of photographers (NEA, 1978) and 37 percent of painters and sculptors (NEA, 1978). Thus, the percentages of exhibited artists represented here are substantial increases.**

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*Largely the result of the Washington, DC, sample.

**We would remind the reader here that the census data represent professional occupation, while the present data are based on exhibition history. It is possible that more men list art as an occupation (vocation), while many women view it as only an avocation (the "housewife" artist) and would not appear in the census despite having "professionally" exhibited their work.

Ethnic/racial groups were combined into two categories--nonwhite (9.5 percent) and white (90.5 percent)--for this analysis (table 5, Appendix C). Nonwhites are underrepresented (less likely to work) in the following art forms: sculpture (4.3 percent), printmaking (5.1 percent), and crafts (0.0 percent). There tend to be more minorities who are drawers (16.8 percent). In the remaining art forms proportions follow population figures. Again, obvious explanations for specific deviations are not evident.

Finally, four categories of art education were used to distinguish artists: Masters Degree; Bachelors Degree; participation in an accredited program (but with no formal degree); and no formal art training (Table 6, Appendix C) The overall proportion in each group is 32.3 percent, 31.5 percent, 29.2 percent and 7.0 percent, respectively. There is wide variation in this distribution across different art forms. Printmakers (47.1 percent) and new form artists (55.3 percent) are significantly more likely to have a Masters Degree. Drawers (19.6 percent) and "multiple form" artists (13.1 percent) are significantly less likely to have a Masters Degree. The complicated technical processes involved in printmaking and major art schools and colleges as transmitters of new ideas suggest why artists working in these areas might be more likely to be highly educated. Drawing appears to be a skill usually learned at a somewhat lower level, but seldom (5.3 percent) without any formal training. "Multiple form" artists are not likely to be untrained either, but the addition of a Masters Degree seems to provide somewhat more focus in the form being used. Photographers are most likely to have no formal art training (22.8 percent), but are also likely to have a Masters Degree (24.4 percent). They are the artist group whose art education level is most difficult to predict. This is probably best explained in terms of the relatively easy move from snapshot taker to artist facilitated by outside picture developing opportunities (lessening technical knowledge requirements) and the use of open competitions to exhibit.

In the next chapter we take a closer look at the economic conditions which characterize the artists in the four cities.

CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC AND WORK CONDITIONS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we examine basic economic and working conditions which characterize artists in the four cities studied. Economic conditions are described in two general categories: 1. the amount of money coming in, i.e., income; and 2. the amount of money going out or expenditures. The analysis of income will include total household income, the artist's share of total income, and the various components (sources) of income, including: income from the sale of art; income from grants and awards; income from art-related jobs; and income from nonart-related jobs. The construct "support system" will be used to discuss various factors relating to the proportion of total support the artists provide for themselves.

The discussion of expenditures will focus on those costs associated with the production, exhibition, and selling of art. They are divided into production costs, studio costs, exhibition costs, selling costs (i.e., dealer commissions), and education and information costs. Differences in income and expenditures across city, art form, and demographic characteristics will be examined as part of this analysis.

Working conditions imply two areas of interest. The first is the type of employment pursued by artists when they are not doing art and how these conditions relate to art form and time devoted to art production. The second is the level of effort devoted to the production and marketing of art. The use of time for these purposes is a function of external factors, like jobs, family obligations, and studio space, and internal decisions (the amount of time artists want to spend doing their art). The job situation and external factors constitute the socio-occupational environment in which the artists work (described in Chapter 2). The differences in dedication to art work not accounted for by these factors may indicate the level of interest or success the artists have had in their artistic pursuits.

In this analysis we focus on the art system represented by our sample. We look at the general conditions which characterize artists' socio-occupational environment and draw our conclusions from aggregate results, rather than atte to trace individual paths.

INCOME

Total Income

Basic support income was measured by asking artists to select one of ten total household income categories for calendar year 1978. Approximately 93 percent (873) responded to this question. The distribution of responses for the combined sample and for each city is presented in Table 4.1. Median income is reported at slightly less than $20,000 for the entire sample. This level of income does not distinguish the artists from a national sample in a meaningful way, except that artists tend to be somewhat better educated than average.

There is substantial variance among cities. Washington, DC, artists have a median income of about $23,000, while San Francisco artists have a median income of about $15,000. Houston and Minneapolis artists fall about half way between. All four cities are relatively high income areas, so the differences are not readily explainable in geographic terms.* Age differences--Washington, DC, area artists are somewhat older--may provide a partial explanation. In the following tables we will examine income more specifically tied to art and the artist, which will help to clarify some of this difference as well.

The National Endowment's census based study of artists reported a median income of $12,400 for painters and sculptors and $11,800 for photographers in 1970 (NEA, 1980). An annual average increase of about 6 percent would make the 1970 and 1978 figures comparable and this seems like a reasonable projection

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*As we shall see later in the Chapter these results contrast sharply with city by city differences in art income.

TABLE 4.1. Total Household Income by City--1978

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0- 2,999	1.8 (16)	0.5	2.3	1.4	3.3
$ 3,000- 4,999	5.6 (48)	2.4	9.9	5.4	3.8
$ 5,000- 6,999	6.4 (56)	1.4	10.8	7.5	4.9
$ 7,000- 9,999	7.8 (68)	5.3	10.8	7.1	7.6
$10,000-12,999	8.9 (77)	5.3	8.9	10.0	10.3
$13,000-15,999	9.1 (80)	8.2	8.5	10.0	9.2
$16,000-19,999	11.6 (101)	8.2	14.1	11.4	12.0
$20,000-29,999	20.2 (181)	20.3	13.6	25.0	21.7
$30,000-49,999	19.7 (173)	30.2	13.6	16.4	16.8
$50,000-up	8.3 (73)	13.5	6.1	4.6	10.3
Total (N)	100.0 (873)	100.0 (202)	100.0 (210)	100.0 (277)	100.0 (184)

for that period. Thus, the artists relative position does not seem to have changed significantly during the last decade, at least with regard to total household income.

The artist's contribution to total household income is described in Table 4.2. In this table we classified results into four categories: (1) low artist contribution (0 to 15 percent); (2) medium low contribution (16 to 49 percent); (3) medium high contribution (50 to 84 percent); and (4) high contribution (85 to 100 percent). As the table shows, almost one quarter of the artists contribute less than 16 percent of their total household income. At the other extreme, almost 40 percent of the artists are substantially self supporting, contributing 85 percent or more of their household's total income.

TABLE 4.2. Artist's Income as a Proportion of Total Household Income, by City--1978

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
0-15 %	23.6 (207)	34.9	18.6	19.6	23.2
16-49 %	14.9 (131)	16.3	14.2	14.9	14.4
50-84 %	21.7 (190)	18.2	19.0	25.7	22.7
85-100%	39.8 (349)	30.6	48.8	39.9	39.8
Total (N)	100.0 (877)	100.0 (209)	100.0 (211)	100.0 (276)	100.0 (181)

In the next section of this chapter we shall examine the factors related to support in greater detail.

The distribution of support by city helps to explain some of the total income differences observed in the previous table. Washington artists are much more likely to be in the low contribution category, while San Francisco artists are much more likely (than artists from the other cities) to appear in the high contribution category. Thus, the high total income in Washington, DC, appears to reflect the support of other family members, while the low total income in San Francisco reflects artist provided income. The fact that our Washington, DC, sample had a high proportion of women artists supports this observation (see Table 3.3).

A real dollar approximation of the artists' contribution to total income is presented in Appendix D. Table 1. This table shows a median artist earned income of about $7,000 in 1978. That figure includes 12.5 percent of the respondents who reported no earned income for themselves in the categories provided, i.e., it includes some people who just did not answer the question. Even assuming that the $7,000 figure is somewhat low, it is clear that the artists earned substantially less than half of total household income. Since only Washington, DC, had as many as one-half of its artists providing less than one-half of their total support, it may be further assumed that individuals supplying most of the support earned, on the average, substantially more than artsts themselves.

Personal Earnings

Five categories of personal earnings are used: (1) income from the sale of the artist's work (including the amount paid as a commission to a dealer); (2) income received for commissioned work; (3) income from grants and awards for the art work; (4) income from salaries and wages for art-related jobs; and (5) income from salaries and wages from nonart-related jobs. The first three categories are combined to form the artist's Art Income.*

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*Because of the sensitivity of the income issue, our questions were asked so that an artist could omit certain categories of income. This means that the reconstructed figure for artists' income would leave out income that may have been reported in the 1978 income tax return. The median artist earned income could be higher than $7,000. Subsequent tables report specific categories of income, from art sales, art-related jobs, and nonart-related jobs, and are assumed to be accurate within sampling error limitations.

Art Income

The distribution of art income by city is presented in Table 4.3. Over one quarter of the sample, 26.1 percent, reported earning no income from sales, commissions, or grants and awards during 1978. An additional 32.3 percent earned $1,000 or less from these sources. The median art income was $718. It is clear from these figures that using exhibitions as the basis for defining professional artists describes a population whose artistic production has little to do with how they survive. If we were to use a figure of $10,000 as indication of earning a marginal income for a family of two, only 8.5 percent of the artists would reach this level on the basis of gross art sales. This does not include the cost of producing the work.

There are significant differences among the cities. Washington, DC, artists earned least from their work, almost two-thirds earned $1,000 or less, while San Francisco (14.6 percent) and Houston (9.7 percent) artists were most likely to earn more than $10,000. The median incomes were also higher in San Francisco and Houston, but still reached only to $1,000. Similar differences are reflected in the income earned exclusively from the sale of art, which is the largest contributor to art income. Between 21 percent and 28 percent of the artists in all cities earned nothing from the sale of their art (see Table 2 in Appendix D). In Washington, DC, and Minneapolis, about 10 percent earned more than $4,000, while in San Francisco and Houston slightly over 21 percent earned $4,000 or more. Although these differences are pronounced, it is difficult to draw conclusions from the information.* San Francisco seems to have a stronger art market than the other cities. San Francisco also has a more experienced artist population (see Table 3.2). Washington, DC, artists, on the other hand, do not sell substantially fewer works than the artists of the other cities (see Table 3 in Appendix D). Thus, the complaint from the

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*One interesting note, however, is that the high family incomes of Washington artists (Table 4.1) are in no way related to art earnings.

TABLE 4.3. Art Income by City--1978*

	ALL CITIES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0	26.1 (306)	29.2	25.7	25.9	23.6
$ 1- 500	18.0 (209)	21.7	14.1	19.8	16.4
$ 501- 1,000	14.3 (166)	15.5	14.1	14.7	12.8
$ 1,001- 2,000	11.6 (135)	14.6	11.5	12.6	8.2
$ 2,001- 4,000	11.9 (140)	8.8	11.9	13.7	12.8
$ 4,001-10,000	9.9 (116)	5.8	8.0	8.3	16.4
$10,001 plus	8.5 (100)	4.0	14.6	4.4	9.7
Total (N)	100.3 (1172) (weighted)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (195)
Mean	$ 3,138.8 (weighted)	$ 1,890.6	$ 4,227.4	$ 2,366.4	$ 4,070.9
Median	$ 718.2 (weighted)	$ 501.4	$ 901.0	$ 749.7	$ 1,000.5
Highest Art Income	$92,000.0	$37,500.0	$50,000.0	$90,000.0	$92,000.0

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*Art income equals to total of sales of completed works, commissions, and awards and grants.

Washington, DC artists, that their market is depressed in price, appears to have some merit.

The other two components of art income, commissions and grants, apply to a much smaller proportion of the sample and constitute only a small proportion of total art income.

One hundred and seventy-five of the artists (18.5%) reported working on commissions in 1978 (Table 4 in Appendix D). The median amount earned from these commissions was approximately $600, which equaled slightly less than 10 percent of total art income. Houston artists were most likely to receive commissions (27 percent), while all other cities had fewer than 18 percent receiving commissions. Houston artists also had the highest median value for their commissions, about $750.

A total of 145 artists (15.4 percent) received a grant or award for their art work during 1978 (Table 5 in Appendix D). Houston and Minneapolis had about 18 percent each and San Francisco and Washington, DC, had about 12 percent each. The median award was about $365, but there were substantial differences among the cities. The median award in Washington, DC, (about $125) was at least $250 lower than any of the other cities. In San Francisco and Minneapolis, 14.3 percent and 16.7 percent of the artists getting awards received more than $2,500. This amount was awarded to only one of the Washington, DC, and two of the Houston artists. The total amount of money received for awards and grants accounted for only 4.6 percent of the reported art income. There was no information on the source of the awards and grants.

There appear to be no obvious explanations for the significant differences among the cities in both the use of commissions and the reception of grants and awards. Each city has an art market system and reward system that operates somewhat differently. With the possible exception of San Francisco, none of the cities seemed particularly oriented toward the visual arts, although each had one or more major museums which showed contemporary local artists and its share of private galleries. Generally, the major money seemed directed toward the performing arts (although not necessarily to local performing artists). Our sample focuses on artists of local, rather than national, reputation and there seem to be very few programs generated in the four cities studied which are directed toward the support of artists working at this level. The artists must make their way through sales or not at all.

Predictors of Art Income

In an effort to identify some hard indicators of art income differences and in order to identify any population subgroups who seem to be treated differently by the system, we examined the relationship of three basic demographic variables--age, gender, and race--and art income level. We also looked at the impact of art form. Results of these analyses are presented here.

While the overall correlation between art income and age is not statistically significant (i.e., there is no linear relationship), there are patterns within the data which appear upon careful examination of the cross tabulation presented in Table 6 in Appendix D. Generally, those in the youngest age group, 18 to 29 year olds, are less likely to have a high art income than older groups. Because they also are likely to be lower in experience, this is not an unexpected finding. The middle age group, 40 to 49 year olds, is most likely to have an art income of over $4,000 (24.1 percent compared to 19.3 percent for 30 to 39 year olds and 17 percent for 50 to 59 year olds). Thus, art income does not seem to build up over the years. Given generational changes in the popularity of certain approaches to art, it may be possible to explain this pattern in terms of which age group is likely to be working in the currently most popular artistic styles. The pattern could also be a reflection of a tendency to "slow down" as age increased beyond the middle years. Since few artists earn a living from their art in any case, this pattern could also reflect a diminution in selling as financial security is attained. One exception to the general data pattern which supports the latter two arguments is that it is the oldest group (60 or more years old) which has the highest proportion of respondents with no art income (34.8 percent).

There is a small but statistically significant correlation between art income and gender (-.173), suggesting that men have a slight advantage in earning power over women. The difference is most clearly reflected in the extreme groups (Table 7 in Appendix D). Men are 6.3 percentage points less likely to appear in the no income group, 3.0 percentage points more likely to appear in the $4,000 to $10,000 income group, and 8.1 percentage points more likely to appear in the over $10,000 group. This tabulation controls for the different numbers of men and women in the sample.* Thus, men seem somewhat more likely to be local superstars than women, at least in art income.

The correlation between "race"** and art income is virtually zero. Table 8 in Appendix D reveals no set pattern. Nonwhites have the largest proportion in the no income group (33 percent to 24.9 percent) and in the highest income group (10.9 percent to 8.2 percent). The claims of discrimination do not seem to be demonstrated in art income distribution among artists who have been exhibited.

The final predictor of art income to be considered here is art form. Table 4.4 presents the distribution of income categories across the nine categories of art form used in this study. There are a number of interesting

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*Women are also less likely to have answered the income questions, suggesting that the difference may be some larger than respondent data show. The logic of this argument is that the people with no income are less likely to answer questions pertaining to income.

**"Race" was dichotomized for this measure. The nonwhite group includes Blacks, Latins, Asians, and Native Americans, and comprises 9.6 percent of the respondent sample.

TABLE 4.4. Art Income by Art Form*

ART FORM	ART INCOME							TOTAL
	None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	% (N)
Painting	23.5	16.8	14.7	11.8	12.4	9.2	11.7	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	33.9	10.2	13.7	11.4	17.4	9.7	3.7	100.0 (157)
Printmaking	16.4	22.4	17.8	15.1	13.4	8.7	6.2	100.0 (78)
Drawing	32.7	33.0	19.2	4.7	7.4	3.1	0.0	100.0 (49)
Photography	32.5	33.0	9.9	6.1	7.4	4.2	6.8	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	30.1	25.2	20.1	11.7	7.2	2.9	2.9	100.0 (35)
Crafts	26.3	14.5	8.1	12.5	7.6	18.3	12.6	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	21.1	13.1	14.3	26.3	11.2	10.0	4.0	100.0 (25)
Other	24.1	14.7	15.0	11.8	12.1	13.7	8.7	100.0 (25)
COLUMN TOTAL	26.2	18.1	14.3	11.5	11.9	9.8	8.2	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 100.556 with 48 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

patterns emerging from this table. First, painters (11.7 percent) and crafts people (12.6 percent) are the most likely groups to have earned more than $10,000 from their art in 1978. Sculptors (3.7 percent), drawers (0.0 percent) and individuals working in the new forms (2.9 percent) are least likely to have earned that much. Over 30 percent of the sculptors, drawers, photographers, and new forms artists earned nothing from their art during 1978. Printmakers, on the other hand, had only 16.4 percent in the no income group. They are most likely to sell something. Of the groups with the most difficulty in selling their work, each seems to have its own special explanation. Sculpture, for example, tends to be expensive, which could easily explain why so many sculptors are unable to sell. Drawings are not expensive, but seem less popular than other traditional art forms. Photography is relatively new and is often seen as easy to imitate, thus making it less popular to buy. The new art forms are simply that, new and unknown. They are often unsalable, also. This means that the artists must look to other means for getting financial rewards for their work. Painting, on the other hand, is the most popular of the traditional art forms, and crafts tend to be the least expensive, thereby explaining why artists working in these forms are most likely to do relatively well selling their work.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Job Income

The other major sources of personal income are regular jobs. We have distinguished two types: (1) those related to the visual arts; and (2) those unrelated to the visual arts. The examination of arts-related jobs is important for two reasons. First, arts-related jobs permit artists to work in areas for which they may have been trained, such as art teacher, art administration, curators, commercial arts, and the like. For artists this is often the exception rather than the rule. Second, working in arts-related jobs may provide the artists with environments more conducive to the production and marketing of their own art. While we begin here with the examination of the income derived from such an arrangement, later analyses will pursue a variety of other situations and processes which might be related to holding an art-related job.*

Table 4.5 shows the distribution of income from art-related jobs for the combined samples and in each of the four cities. These results show that almost 60 percent of the professional artists in these cities held some kind of a paying art-related job during 1978.** The median income of those holding this type of job was approximately $5,000. This figure is almost seven times as high as the median earned in art income ($718). However, over 60 percent of these jobs are part-time (Table 4.6). Even among teachers, 62.4 percent work on only a part-time basis. This explains the relatively low median income for art-related work. Among the relatively small proportion (14.4 percent of all art-related jobs) of art administrators and curators, almost three-fourths are part-time.

Again, there is substantial variance among the four cities. Table 4.5 shows that Washington, DC, trails the other cities both in the proportion who hold art-related jobs (48.7 percent) and in the median income earned from the jobs held ($3,050). San Francisco (70.4 percent) and Minneapolis (65 percent) are the cities with artists most likely to hold some kind of art-related job.

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[*] Examples include studio space, information about exhibition opportunities, and the opportunity to meet people who are important gatekeepers in the local visual arts system.

[**] Again, we will warn the reader that not all respondents answered this question. Our estimate is that those who did not answer this question are less likely to have held arts-related jobs. This means that, if there is a bias in the results, it is likely to be in the direction of slightly overestimating the proportion (though not the actual numbers) of artists who had this kind of job during 1978. The 60 percent figure is based on actual respondents. It could be as low as 50 percent if all respondents had answered. In either case, we would interpret this as being a fairly high proportion.

TABLE 4.5. Income from Art-Related Jobs by City--1978

INCOME	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0	40.5 (328)	51.3	29.6	35.0	48.3
$ 1- 2,999	23.5 (190)	21.2	29.0	24.1	18.9
$ 3,000- 4,999	6.2 (51)	6.7	7.5	5.5	5.7
$ 5,000- 6,999	4.1 (34)	1.6	7.6	3.9	4.0
$ 7,000- 9,999	5.1 (42)	2.6	6.9	5.5	5.7
$10,000-12,999	4.3 (35)	3.6	3.3	5.1	5.1
$13,000-15,999	4.0 (33)	3.1	2.1	5.1	5.7
$16,000-19,999	5.1 (42)	3.1	5.9	7.4	3.4
$20,000-29,999	6.0 (49)	5.7	7.0	7.8	2.9
$30,000-50,000	0.7 (6)	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.0
Total (N)	100.0 (810)	100.0 (193)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (257)	100.0 (174)
Mean (without $0) (income)	$7,898	$7,702	$7,461	$8,698	$7,249
Median (approximately)	$5,000	$3,050	$4,000	$5,565	$5,000

TABLE 4.6. Art-Related Employment*

JOB	TOTAL % (N)	FULL-TIME %	PART-TIME %	
Teaching	55.5 (402)	37.6 (151)	62.4 (251)	100.0
Art Administration/ Curatorial	14.4 (104)	26.9 (28)	73.1 (76)	100.0
Other Art-Related Jobs	30.1 (218)	39.0 (85)	61.0 (133)	100.0
	100.0 (724)	36.5 (264)	63.5 (460)	100.0 (724)

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*Table is based on weighted date, N = 1172.

However, San Francisco's jobs apparently pay less or are of shorter duration since the median income in San Francisco is more than $1,500 less than in Minneapolis. In Table 4.7 it can be seen that the difference between the high pay and low pay cities is partially the presence of a larger proportion of full-time teachers and administrators, not the distribution of types of jobs (bottom half of the table*). This difference does not seem to account for all of the pay differential. The only other obvious explanation is that pay rates are quite different in the four cities. For some reason, Minneapolis and Houston artists are paid more for their art-related jobs than San Francisco and, particularly, Washington, DC, artists.

Whatever the distribution across cities, it is clear that art-related jobs are a major contributor to the economic well being of professional artists (far beyond the economic contribution of their art). Furthermore, the fact that much of this work makes a direct contribution to the development (teaching) or promotion (art administration and curatorial jobs) of additional art, adds credibility to the argument that these jobs constitute a kind of patronage system which is funded largely through public (governmental) agencies. The argument is bolstered by artist comments in one city to the effect that a local museum provided part-time curator jobs primarily to help local artists. Art-related jobs which are privately supported or which make a contribution to some other product or objective, such as commercial art or photography, do not fall into this category.

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*There is an evident disagreement in the number of artists holding art-related jobs in the figures present in Table 4.7 and those inferred from Table 4.5 This disagreement can be due to one of two factors. Either some artists hold art-related "jobs" for which they do not get paid, or some artists who hold such jobs are not willing to reveal how much they earned (the more likely explanation), or both. In either case, the numbers (N) in Table 4.7 represent higher employment than the zero income figures (or really 1- the zero percentage) in Table 4.5 Unfortunately, there is no way to finally reconcile these numbers.

TABLE 4.7. Art-Related Employment by City--1978

JOB	WASHINGTON, DC %		SAN FRANCISCO %		MINNEAPOLIS %		HOUSTON %	
	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Part
Teaching	36.1	63.9	29.6	70.4	44.0	56.0	37.5	62.5
	N=83		N=98		N=141		N=80	
Art Administrator/ Curator	18.5	81.5	25.9	74.1	18.1	71.9	36.8	63.2
	N=26		N=27		N=32		N=19	
Other Art-related Jobs	32.2	67.7	25.8	74.2	30.0	70.0	35.0	65.0
	N=62		N=66		N=90		N=60	
Total	32.2	67.8	27.2	72.8	37.3	62.7	36.5	63.5
N	N=171		N=191		N=263		N=159	
Teaching	48.5		51.3		53.6		50.3	
Art Administrator/ Curator	15.2		14.1		12.2		11.9	
Other Art-Related Jobs	36.3		34.6		34.2		37.7	
	100.0		100.0		100.0		99.9	

The second job category includes those occupations which are non art-related. Income earned from these jobs is described in Table 4.8. Using reported income figures, 42.4 percent of the responding artists held nonart-related jobs of some type during 1978. This is about 17 percentage points fewer than reported income from art-realted jobs. These figures suggest that artists are more likely to support themselves by their art income and art-related work than they are by nonart-related work (not counting external support). Interestingly, the median earnings from nonart-related jobs ($4,900) is only $100 less than the median earnings reported for art-related jobs. Thus the economic contribution to artists holding either type of job is about the same.

Differences among cities are again striking. Washington, DC, has by far the highest median income, $7,085, (Table 4.8). Minneapolis is a distant second at $4,900, and Houston and San Francisco are both below $3,500. The primary distinguishing characteristic of Washington's nonart job holders is the high proportion (30 percent) who hold professional or technical positions (Table 9 in Appendix D). The second factor is that Washington, DC, is the only city where more than half (56.6 percent) of the nonart employed artists are full-time employees. For Minneapolis and Houston, the percentage is 41.1 and for San Francisco it is 36.1 percent. In Chapter 3 we pointed out the seemingly more professional nature of the San Francisco artist population. Washington's low art income was previously explained as being partially a function of lower prices in the Washington, DC, area. Results in Table 4.8 and in Table 9 of Appendix D suggest that another partial explanation for the lower art income in Washington, DC, may be that a smaller proportion of the "professional artists" are fully dedicated to their art. We will explore this issue further when we look at how artists spend their time.

TABLE 4.8. Income from Non-Art Related Jobs by City--1978

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0	57.5 (439)	64.2	61.6	50.2	56.0
$ 1- 2,999	15.0 (114)	9.5	16.8	15.5	18.1
$ 3,000- 4,999	5.6 (43)	4.0	5.9	6.9	5.5
$ 5,000- 6,999	4.6 (35)	2.8	3.8	6.9	4.2
$ 7,000- 9,999	4.8 (37)	4.0	4.9	4.3	4.8
$10,000-12,999	4.2 (32)	3.4	3.2	5.1	4.8
$13,000-15,999	2.1 (16)	2.3	2.2	2.2	1.8
$16,000-19,999	1.6 (12)	1.7	1.1	1.7	1.8
$20,000-29,999	3.0 (23)	4.5	0.0	4.3	3.0
$30,000-49,999	1.4 (11)	2.3	0.5	2.6	0.0
$50,000-plus	0.1 (1)	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
Total (N)	100.0 (763)	100.0 (179)	100.0 (185)	100.0 (233)	100.0 (165)
Mean (without $0) (income)	$7,883	$10,079	$5,417	$9,162	$6,325
Median (approximately)	$4,900	$7,085	$3,200	$4,900	$3,450

Support System

In Table 4.2, we described the contribution of artists to total household income by dividing artists into four groups: (1) those contributing less than 16 percent; (2) those contributing from 16 percent through 49 percent; (3) those contributing 50 percent through 84 percent; and (4) those contributing more than 84 percent. In this section we will refine the construct of support system and discuss how it might be related to other aspects of the artist's life and work. One dimension of the support system concerns how artists achieve the necessary financial support to satisfy their artistic goals. The artist's contribution to total income is one indicator of this dimension. The source of that income is another indicator. The second dimension is the level of total income. An income of $5,000, no matter who supplies it, is likely to have a different effect than an income of $50,000. We would hypothesize that the support system can be an indicator of both time and monetary expenditures devoted to art production. It may predict the amount and source of other general benefits, such as insurance and home ownership, also. Support system may be a function of other factors, such as demographic characteristics which act to influence the particular socio-economic situation in which the artist functions.

We have operationalized support system using the artist's contribution to total income and the level of total income. Income has been divided into three levels--up to $10,000 (low), $10,001 to $20,000 (medium), and $20,001 or more (high). When combined with the four categories of the artist's contribution of total income, the 12 categories of the support system shown in Table 4.9 are formed. The distribution of artists across these caregories is presented also. The dominant groups in this distribution are the low support groups with low, medium or high income. The results show that over 40 percent of the artists provide most (at least 85 percent) of their own support. About 20 percent

TABLE 4.9. Support System--1978*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	%
Low Income - High Support	1.1
Medium Income - High Support	2.7
High Income - High Support	16.4
Low Income - Medium to High Support	1.7
Medium Income - Medium to High Support	6.2
High Income - Medium to High Support	7.5
Low Income - Medium to Low Support	3.2
Medium Income - Medium to Low Support	8.1
High Income - Medium to Low Support	10.2
Low Income - Low Support	17.5
Medium Income - Low Support	15.4
High Income - Low Support	10.0
Total* (N)	100.0 (967)

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*Based on a weighted sample.

receive high support and 75 percent of those are in the high support/high income category. The medium and high income/medium-low support categories (18.3 percent of the total sample) suggest a full-time working artist and a part-time working partner. In the following discussion we will examine some of the demographic characteristics of individuals in each of these categories.

Age group by support system is presented in Table 10, Appendix D. Younger artists are likely to have lower incomes and less likely to be in one of the high support groups. High support is more common in the 30 to 59 age bracket. With the exception of the medium and high income categories among the youngest age group, the likelihood of low support diminishes steadily with increasing age. It takes time both to build up income and to develop a base for external support. We assume that the outside support base comes primarily from working spouses.

There is a very strong relationship between support category and gender (Table 11 in Appendix D). Women are much more likely to appear in the high support groups for both medium and high income, 89.3 percent and 96.4 percent, respectively. Men are much more likely to appear in the low support groups for both medium and high income, 72.2 percent and 89.7 percent, respectively. The relationship is in the same direction and almost as strong in the medium low support groups. Only when there is low income do men challenge women in the level of support received. These results suggest that there is a significant number of "housewife" artists who depend entirely or primarily on the support of their husbands to practice their art. Such a structure can provide both money and time. However, most of these women provide at least some of their own support, since a very small percentage (less than 5 percent) of the female artists indicated that their primary employment was "housewife." A total of 39.5 percent of all women artists had high support, while only 2.6 percent of the male artists received a similar level of support. Viewed another way, 76.9 percent of all high and medium high support artists were women. We will examine the relationship of support and time used for the production of art in the last section of this chapter.

Generally, nonwhites were less likely to receive high support (Table 12 in Appendix D). This is primarily due to the large number of while women in the high income/high support category. ObverseTy nonwhites were slightly more likely to appear in the low support categories. In the middle support categories there was very little difference between the two groups.

Support implies more than just money and possibly time. Marriage, for example, is a means of support that can bring with it a variety of other benefits, such as health insurance, home ownership. There is a slight tendency for artists with higher support to receive health insurance as an adjunct to that support (Table 13 in Appendix D). Home ownership, however, is largely a function of income, with little difference attributable to support group (Table 14 in Appendix D). These results suggest the amgibuity associated with the support system construct once it is extended beyond the identification of married female artists.

EXPENDITURES

Balancing income, particularly art income, are the costs artists must incur in order to produce, exhibit, and sell their work. Professional expenses are grouped into five categories: (1) cost of materials, equipment, and other art production expenses; (2) studio rent and related costs, such as taxes, heat and electricity; (3) exhibition costs, including insurance, travel, shipping, framing, invitations, and exhibit openings; (4) dealer's commissions; and (5) educational and other information expenses, such as classes, art journals, and information services.

Art Work Related Expenditures

Production Costs

The first three expense categories, production, studio, and exhibition, have been combined to form the indicator production costs. The distribution of these costs appears in Table 4.10. The median cost for the weighted sample was $1,450 in 1978. This figure includes 159 respondents (13.6 percent) who indicated no production costs for that period.* The median production cost is approximately double the median art income ($1,450. to $718.) indicating that artists generally earn less from their art than they spend on producing it. The correlation coefficient between production costs and art income is .537 which is statistically significant and indicates that an increase in production cost is roughly proportional to an increase in art income. Thus, the 2 to 1 ratio is probably fairly stable for the majority of artists.**

There are substantial differences among artists in each city. Washington, DC, artists, who had the lowest art income, also have the lowest costs (median = $965.50). This suggests a lower activity level rather than lower prices. The higher proportion of full-time workers in the Washington, DC sample may mean that less effort is devoted to the production of art. The possible causal relationship is complex, however, since it is as easy to argue that the depressed market produces less money which can be used in the production of new works.

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[*] The question was asked so as to elicit a dollar amount (Appendix A, Question 15). There was no provision for gifts or other no cost assistance. Thus, the artists who responded with no production costs may still have been working in 1978

[**] A correlation of .537 statistically accounts for about 29 percent of the variance. This means there is still substantial room for fluctuation in an individual cost/income ratio. Some artists do show a profit, while others have even greater than a 2 to 1 loss ratio.

TABLE 4.10. Production Costs by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0	13.6 (159)	17.7	11.9	11.9	12.8
$ 1- 500	13.5 (158)	18.6	6.4	19.1	9.7
$ 501- 1,000	16.2 (166)	16.4	11.9	19.1	9.2
$ 1,001- 2,000	19.9 (228)	22.1	19.0	18.4	20.0
$ 2,001- 4,000	20.2 (234)	13.3	25.7	19.8	22.0
$ 4,001-10,000	15.0 (182)	10.7	19.0	9.9	22.0
$10,001-over	3.2 (38)	1.3	5.8	1.7	4.1
Total (N)	100.0 (1172) (weighted)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	$2,683	$1,731	$3,236	$2,098	$3,665.5
Median	$1,450	$ 965.5	$2,051.5	$1,000.5	$2,000

Minneapolis also has low production costs, but its ratio of income to production cost is close to 1 ($\frac{750}{1000}$), indicating a somewhat more profitable situation than exists in the other cities (which are all at about $\frac{1}{2}$). Part of the high cost occurring in San Francisco and Houston is attributable to the number of artists with very high costs. Five point eight percent of San Francisco's artists cite costs of over $10,000, and 4.1 percent of Houston's artists have similar high costs. In comparison, only 1.3 percent of Washington, DC's, artists and 1.7 percent of Minneapolis' artists have such large expenditures. A similar pattern exists in the $4,000 to $10,000 cost range. Thus, a small number of "expensive" artists drive up the costs in two of the cities. Given similar findings for art income, it is apparent that San Francisco and Houston have a higher proportion to high level (measured in income and cost) artists. It is interesting to note, however, that higher income seems to carry with it higher costs. This suggests that the type of art being produced is a factor, as is the amount of work produced and the cost of studios and shows. One massive sculpture can produce both substantial income and substantial cost with little "profit." A large studio could be a substantial part of cost. Several shows, at certain types of galleries, could also be quite expensive.

The components of cost by city are described in Tables 15 through 17 in Appendix D. Materials and equipment costs were very low for Washington, DC artists with a median of under $500. In San Francisco, the median was close to $1,000; in Minneapolis it was about $700; and in Houston it was almost $1,000. The pattern is the same as it was for production costs. Again, the impression is that Washington artists simply do less than the artists in other cities.

Studio costs (Table 16 in Appendix D) also are lower in Washington, DC, primarily because almost half of the Washington, DC, artists incurred no studio costs in 1978. For artists with at least some studio cost, the difference between Washington, DC and the other cities is smaller, but Washington, DC, artists seem to pay a little less for these facilities. It is not possible to determine if the lower costs are due to lower prices or poorer facilities. San Francisco and Houston artists are likely to pay the most for their studios and are more likely to have rented studio space. In our group discussion, artists in all cities complained about the lack of reasonably priced space.

The median cost for studio space was barely above zero for Washington, DC artists, while it is over $500 in San Francisco and Houston, and about $400 in Minneapolis. Thus, the cost of studios is a very small part of production costs in Washington, DC, and it is a significant part in the other cities. This explains a little more of the large difference in production costs.

Exhibition expenses are described in Table 17, Appendix D. While the cities are not exactly the same, the median cost for exhibition is very close for all cities, ranging from $150 to $250. Exhibition costs, then, do not help explain city differences in production costs.

Houston had the most artists, 37 percent, with no exhibition costs. However, it is not possible to determine if this was because of fewer exhibitions or a greater likelihood that Houston galleries picked up the cost of exhibition. San Francisco had the most artists with high (greater than $1,000) exhibition costs. Given the generally higher experience level of San Francisco artists, it could be hypothesized that the higher costs are related to more and higher level exhibitions.

In summary, materials and equipment costs constitute the major portion of production costs. In all cities but Washington, DC studio costs are also a significant part of production costs, perhaps one-third. Exhibition costs are relatively even across cities, and they are also a relatively small part of production costs.

Table 4.11 provides an interesting description of differences in production costs by art form. Art form differences hypothesized to contribute to cost differences have not materialized in our data. While there are isolated exceptions, there are no substantial differences in the cost of producing sculpture, paintings, photographs, or any of the other forms. There are undoubtedly individual differences in production costs, but these seem not to be reflected in the average cost of working in a particular form.

Finally, production costs were examined in terms of gender and race. Table 18 of Appendix D shows that female artists are more likely to have lower production costs than male artists. More than 26 percent of the males incur costs over $4,000 to produce their work, while only 11.4 percent of the females have similar high costs. Since there were few differences in art form, it may be assumed that female artists (on the average) devote somewhat less effort (as measured in the cost of materials to produce their work) than males to their artwork.

Race, on the other hand, does not seem to be a factor in the amount of cost/effort expended by artists. Table 19 of Appendix D shows no statistically significant difference between the majority group (whites) and a combined minority group (consisting of blacks, Hispanics, Orientals and native Americans). Thus, while these groups may have some difficulty exhibiting, they do incur similar costs for producing their work.

Total Art-Related Costs

The expenditure concept was further expanded by adding costs for dealer commissions and educational and information activities to production costs. This produced a total art related cost indicator. The distribution of this indicator by city is presented in Table 4.12. Median total art expenditures equaled $1,890 for all artists. This is about $400 higher than the median for

TABLE 4.11. Production Costs by Art Form*

ART FORM	PRODUCTION COSTS							TOTAL
	$0 %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,00 -up %	% (N)
Painting	12.2	14.2	17.4	17.9	22.9	13.3	2.1	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	13.6	14.6	10.9	24.1	19.7	13.7	3.4	100.0 (157)
Printmaking	11.6	7.9	16.4	22.8	25.3	14.4	1.7	100.0 (78)
Drawing	5.7	35.4	20.4	18.2	11.5	6.1	2.7	100.0 (49)
Photography	11.1	12.2	16.5	17.4	23.2	14.1	5.5	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	6.6	20.4	3.7	28.6	20.3	17.5	2.9	100.0 (35)
Crafts	22.4	21.9	9.4	14.5	13.7	14.4	3.7	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	10.0	9.2	21.1	25.5	15.1	4.0	15.1	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	17.7	7.6	10.0	20.6	17.5	23.9	2.6	100.0 (253)
COLUMN TOTAL	13.6	13.6	14.1	19.9	20.2	15.5	3.1	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 104.902 with 48 degrees of freedom. Significance = .0000.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 4.12. Total of Art-Related Expenses by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0	12.1 (142)	16.4	11.1	10.2	10.8
$ 1- 500	10.6 (120)	14.6	5.3	14.3	8.2
$ 501- 1,000	12.1 (140)	14.1	10.2	16.4	7.7
$ 1,001- 2,000	17.3 (198)	20.4	13.7	19.1	15.9
$ 2,001- 4,000	23.8 (277)	18.6	29.6	22.5	24.6
$ 4,001-10,000	17.6 (206)	13.3	17.3	14.7	25.1
$10,001-over	6.5 (73)	2.6	12.8	2.7	7.7
Total (N)	100.0 (1172) (weighted)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	$3,487.5	$2,404	$4,415	$2,517	$4,614
Median	$1,890	$1,117.5	$2,400.5	$1,400	$2,300

production costs. The pattern across expenditure categories is very similar to the pattern for production costs (Table 4.11). The largest group is from $2,000 to $4,000, and the smallest group is $10,000 and over. The proportion in the $10,001 and more, however, is double the number who spend that much on production costs (6.5 percent to 3.2 percent). The additional factors constitute important contributors to the art-related costs for some artists.

Table 4.13 shows that most of the increased expenditure is attributable to dealer commissions, rather than education and information costs. More than 1 in 7 of the artists who pay commissions spends over $2,500. However, only about one-third of all responding artists report paying any commissions in 1978 (321 of 940). Thus, a relatively small percentage of the artists are "burdened" by dealer commissions, and the proportion of reported art income taken in commissions is less than 1 percent for all artists.*

The pattern across cities follows previous expenditure and income patterns. In Table 4.12 we see that Washington, DC, and Minneapolis trail the other cities in total expenditures, and in Table 4.13 we see that Washington, DC, and Minneapolis artists are less likely to pay a substantial amount in commissions. For example, 12.4 percent of the Washington, DC, artists and 9.8 percent of the Minneapolis artists pay more than $1,500 in commissions, while 34.4 percent of the San Francisco artists and 29.5 percent of the Houston artists exceed $1,500 in commissions (among those artists who pay commissions). The lower percentage of artists paying a high level of commissions is not reflected in a disproportionate share of artists who pay any commission. Approximately the same proportion of artists pay some commission in each of the four cities (Minneapolis is slightly lower at 28 percent). Thus, San Francisco and Houston artists seem to sell a higher proportion of their work through dealers than Washington and Minneapolis artists.

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*This figure was calculated by dividing total commissions (mean x 321) by total art income (meand x 1172 from Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.13 Dealer Commissions by City

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 1- 100	17.4 (56)	19.1	15.2	21.9	12.7
$ 101- 200	13.4 (43)	21.3	3.8	17.1	9.9
$ 201- 350	12.3 (33)	12.4	10.1	13.4	4.2
$ 351- 500	12.8 (41)	13.5	11.4	12.2	14.1
$ 501- 750	5.0 (16)	2.2	6.3	7.3	4.2
$ 751-1,000	11.5 (37)	11.2	10.1	8.5	16.9
$1,001-1,500	8.4 (27)	7.9	7.6	9.8	8.4
$1,501-2,500	6.2 (20)	4.5	7.6	4.9	8.4
$2,501-over	14.9 (48)	7.9	27.8	4.9	21.1
Total (N)	100.0 (321)	100.0 (89)	100.0 (79)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (71)
Percent of Artists Paying Commissions		39	36	28	36

In San Francisco, this situation is partially a reflection of greater experience (discussed earlier). In Houston, where experience as professional artists does not exceed the other cities, the difference may also reflect the advanced level of the exhibiting artist population (a smaller number of artists with more exhibition experience). Artists from Washington, DC, and Minneapolis sell less work, sell at somewhat lower prices, and are less likely to sell through a dealer than artists in San Francisco and Houston. In the next section we shall examine the amount of time artists devote to their art and its relationship to income and expenditures as another possible explanation for differences among cities.

Art form does not show a consistent relationship with expenditures. No form has a consistently higher or lower expenditure pattern, although some show substantial differences in specific categories (Table 20 of Appendix D). As the next section will show, the differences seem more associated with how much work is done rather than with what form is used.

Cost and the Support System

The final expenditure-related issue examined here is the relationship between support system and the amount of money spent on art work. Table 4.14 shows an apparently complex pattern of support and expenditures. By collapsing some of the categories it is possible to see more coherent patterns. For example, if "low" expenditures are defined as being under \$1,000 _or_ \$2,000 per year, then artists with _high support_ are more likely to have low expenditures than are artists in other support categories (regardless of income). This _may_ be because artist-housewives, the most common type of artist in the high support group, are less likely to devote substantial effort to their art.

A second group that stands out are those who have high art-related expenditures (above \$4,000 per year). This group is more likely to come from medium and high income groups (an expected result) who have medium low or low support.*

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*Low income artists cannot bear the high production costs regardless of the support level.

TABLE 4.14. Art Production Costs by Household Support

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	EXPENSES							TOTAL
	None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	% (N)
Low Income/High Support	12.0	6.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	12.0	9.3	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	27.5	24.4	8.8	24.4	9.9	5.0	0.0	100.0 (26)
High Income/High Support	11.0	13.7	19.2	27.8	18.3	10.0	0.0	100.0 (158)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	0.0	23.0	27.2	13.6	22.5	7.7	0.0	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	8.4	7.9	3.5	25.6	35.4	9.1	0.0	100.0 (60)
High Income/Medium to High Support	5.4	13.9	15.7	11.6	21.0	30.3	2.1	100.0 (72)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	8.4	18.1	10.6	23.6	27.1	12.3	0.0	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	8.8	12.9	12.2	20.2	23.3	19.0	3.6	100.0 (79)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	14.4	13.4	13.6	22.6	12.7	18.6	4.7	100.0 (97)
Low Income/Low Support	7.0	17.2	14.0	24.8	25.6	11.3	0.0	100.0 (169)
Medium Income/Low Support	5.8	7.4	14.7	16.9	24.5	25.9	4.6	100.0 (149)
High Income/Low Support	7.9	19.8	14.1	6.9	26.4	14.6	10.3	100.0 (97)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	9.0	14.1	15.1	20.6	22.4	15.1	2.8	100.0 (966)

Chi Square = 148.143 with 66 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.000

Thus, professional artists devoting substantial sums to the production of art are more likely to be spending their own money. There may be a point at which art becomes a vocation as well as a passion, and this point is more likely to be reached in a self-supporting mode.

The association of low expenditures and high support remains when commissions and other expenses are added to form total art-related costs, but the relationship between low support and high expenditures is less strong (Table 21 of Appendix D).

In this section we looked at the pattern of art-related expenditures and some possible predictors. There are substantial differences among cities and these differences may be related to the experience and exhibition history of artists in the cities as well as to level of effort (to be discussed below). Contributing costs, e.g. studio rent and material costs, show the same city-associated differences. In all cases, San Francisco and Houston, the cities in which artists had higher incomes, are the cities with higher art-related costs, while Washington, DC, and Minneapolis have lower costs. Gender contributed to cost differences, with women having lower costs than men (on the average), but there are no differences associated with race. Support system shows some relationship to cost, but it is selective and suggests the impact of a gender and marital status interaction, for low expenditures, and self-sufficiency for high expenditures.

WORKING CONDITIONS

In this section we discuss factors, besides money, which describe the general conditions in which artists work. Two dimensions are included: (1) space to do work; and (2) level of effort. In our discussions with artists, studio space seemed to be a universal problem, either because it was not available or because it was too expensive. Level of effort, or time, is defined in terms of both the amount of time devoted to the production of art and the distribution of time across different aspects of art work. These aspects include time devoted to selling, experimenting, producing work for whows, preparing work for exhibition (framing, shipping, hanging shows, etc.), and discussing art-related ideas with other artists.*

The amount of time devoted to producing art may indicate interest or the pressures of outside factors, such as money, or both. The distribution of time shows the focus of art activity and may indicate interest, the level of interference in primary activities (doing art), or other conditions relevant to the artist's career. Because of the ambiguity of time as an indicator of the artist's situation, we will examine it from several perspectives in addition to describing basic distributions. Included in this description will be the relationship of time to income, expenditures, jobs, and demographic characteristics.

Working Space

The distribution of types of working space is shown in Table 4.15. The majority of artists have studios or work in their own homes in all cities. The proportion of artists in this category is statistically the same in all cities as is the proportion who have a separate rented space (from 12.1 percent to 14.3 percent). Having a studio at home does not necessarily mean that there are no studio costs incurred by the artist. As a comparison of Table 16 of Appendix D and Table 4.15 show, substantially fewer artists have no studio costs than had studios in their homes. This means that many home studios are treated as rented

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*Time was measured relatively in four categories--most, some, little, and none--for these aspects. Production time was measured in "average hours per week."

TABLE 4.15. Type of Studio Space by City

TYPE OF STUDIO	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
At Home	60.1	60.3	61.0	55.7
Separate - Rented	12.1	14.3	13.4	12.5
Separate - Owned	5.4	9.8	4.1	12.5
Shared - Rented	7.2	10.3	7.5	3.1
Rent Free	4.9	1.8	5.5	6.3
Other	3.6	1.3	3.8	6.3
No Studio Space	6.3	2.2	4.8	3.6
Total (N)	100.0 (223)	100.0 (224)	100.0 (292)	100.0 (192)

or as working offices (for tax purposes) which have purchase and/or other related costs. Viewing this from the other side, however, it can be argued that those artists who work in their homes and claim no expenses either do not qualify for the tax deduction or are not aware of its availability. Our survey did not provide data to examine this question.

The remainder of Table 4.15 shows the distribution of other types of studio space. While there are differences across cities, these differences show no consistent pattern. In particular, there are few figures which illuminate differences between cities in the areas of income and costs. The one possible exception is the fact that Washington, DC, artists (6.3 percent) are somewhat more likely to have no studio space than artists in the other cities (4.8 percent in Minneapolis, 3.6 percent in Houston, and 2.2 percent in San Francisco). However, these figures do not identify the reason for having no space, such as cost, living circumstances, general art experience, etc.

Tables 22 and 23 of Appendix D show the expected relationship between studio space, on the one hand, and production costs and total art costs on the other. As expected, artists with home studio space have lower costs than artists who rent or own separate space. In Table 24 of Appendix D, studio space and support system are compared. As with previous analyses of support system, individual differences exist, but there is only one which is consistent across support categories. This pattern is the increased likelihood for home studio space as household income (not level of support) increases. The pattern persists through all support groups except "low" support, where having a studio at home occurs with about equal frequency across all support groups. It is possible that artists with higher income resources are more likely to own a home and, therefore, have the space for a studio. Similarly, artists with low support are more independent and likely to own their own homes.

Level of Effort

As discussed above, level of effort is described on two dimensions--time spent in the studio and the distribution of time across various art activities. We will discuss studio time first. As an introduction, Table 4.16 shows the amount of time artists spent on paying jobs in 1978. Jobs can have a variety of influences on art-oriented time. For example, artists who work at full-time jobs have less time to devote to their art. One the other hand, those who work only part-time or not at all may not have sufficient resources to devote more of their "free" time to their art. A number of other permutations are also possible, but further discussion will be withheld until we examine some of the possible correlates in subsequent tables.

The distribution of job-time across six categories is surprisingly balanced with a range, for the combined samples, of 11 percent for 41 or more hours per week to 24.8 percent for those working 31 to 40 hours per week. These categories constitute most of the full-time workers in our sample. Almost as many artists (31.3 percent) work only 10 hours or less at a regular paying job. Female artists in the high support category constitute an important part of this group.

There are some differences among the cities, but again there is no consistent pattern. Artists in all four cities have about the same distribution of working time, despite earlier results showing Washington artists with a higher percentage of full-time jobs.

Total Time Devoted to Art

Table 4.17 presents data on the other side of this question--how much time is consumed doing art work and related activities.* Over 21 percent said they spent 10 hours or less on these activities. Slightly less, 17.8 percent,

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*Selling, preparing works for shows, experimenting, discussing art, and producing work for shows.

TABLE 4.16. Time Use: Number of Hours Spent in an Average Week on a Paying Job, by City

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
0	18.0 (154)	22.3	21.3	10.6	20.2
1-10	13.3 (114)	14.9	12.9	12.4	13.3
11-20	17.0 (145)	14.0	18.8	17.8	17.4
21-30	15.9 (136)	11.6	19.8	18.1	13.3
31-40	24.8 (212)	26.0	21.8	27.5	22.5
41-Over	11.0 (94)	11.2	5.4	13.6	13.3
Total (N)	100.0 (855)	100.0 (215)	100.0 (202)	100.0 (265)	100.0 (173)
Mean	23 hours	22 hours	21 hours	26 hours	23 hours
Median	22.5 hours	20 hours	20 hours	29.5 hours	20.5 hours

TABLE 4.17. Time Use: Number of Hours Spent in an Average Week on Art Work, by City

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
0	2.1 (19)	3.6	1.4	2.1	1.1
1-10	19.1 (175)	19.3	16.8	25.1	12.7
11-20	27.1 (248)	31.5	23.7	29.3	23.2
21-30	19.2 (176)	19.9	21.9	15.9	19.4
31-40	14.8 (135)	11.3	15.1	15.9	16.9
41-over	17.8 (163)	14.8	21.4	11.7	26.5
Total (N)	100.0 (916)*	100.0 (223)	100.0 (220)	100.0 (283)	100.0 (190)
Mean	27 hours	27.5 hours	29 hours	23.5 hours	32 hours
Median	24.5 hours	20 hours	25.5 hours	20 hours	30 hours

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*Based on weighted data.

indicated that they spent more than 40 hours on art-related work. For the entire sample, over half (51.8 percent) said they spent at least twenty-one hours per week (equivalent to a half-time job) on their art-related work. Thus, using time as an indicator, a majority of the artists in our sample seem to take their art activities quite seriously.

Unlike time spent on regular paying jobs, there are differences among the four cities described in the study. These differences follow both art income and production cost figures presented earlier and help explain some of the differences among cities. Washington, DC, and Minneapolis artists, who are likely to have lower art incomes and lower costs, spend less time on art-related activities than artists in San Francisco and Houston. The size of the differences depends on the precise cutting point, but using our previous breakpoints, 46 percent of the Washington, DC, artists and 43.5 percent of the Minneapolis artists devote more than twenty hours per week to art, while 58.4 percent of the San Francisco artists and 62.8 percent of the Houston artists devote that much time. On the whole, artists from the cities with more income and costs are more active than the artists from the other cities. While this "accounts for" the difference, it does not explain why such a difference in level of effort should exist. From previous results we saw that San Francisco artists are likely to be more experienced and that Washington, DC, artists are more likely to be fully employed outside the art world. Both of these factors could explain part of the difference. The experience level may indicate a higher proportion of "professional" artists, those for whom art is a major economic contributor. The higher proportion of full-time jobs outside art decreases time available for art-related activities. Thus, differences in time devoted to art confirm other indicators of basic differences among the artist populations of the four cities.

Studio Time

Art-related time was further refined with a question on the estimated time spent actually producing art. This indicator of art activity eliminates time spent selling, preparing work for shows (framing, etc.), and discussing art, and focuses on the time spent doing art (production time). In these analyses we will examine the relationship of production time to the primary interests of this Chapter, income, costs, and the household support system. In addition, we examine the relationship of production time to gender and race.

The total column of Table 4.18 provides a basic distribution of production time categories.[*] Slightly more than a quarter (28.1 percent) of the artists claim ten hours or less during each week are spent producing art. About the same number (26.9 percent) indicate they spend more than thirty hours per week.[**]

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[*] The categories used are the same as those used in earlier time-related analyses.

[**] The careful reader has probably noticed that the figures in Tables 4.17 and 4.18 (column 1) conflict slightly. Table 4.17 shows a lower percentage who claim to devote ten or less hours to their art and somewhat more who claim to devote thirty or more hours. The latter difference would be expected because of the additional activities included in Table 4.17. The former difference appears to be the result of differences in the number of people who responded to the two questions. Only 94 percent (weighted) responded to the question on producing art, while 97.4 percent (unweighted) responded to the question on total art-related activities (which appeared first in the questionnaire--Appendix A, questions 7 and 9). Those not responding to the production question seem more likely to be in the higher level of effort categories. The remaining difference is probably attributable to inconsistency in responses. The production time question is somewhat more focused and may have produced more accurate answers. In any event, inaccurate answers are likely to be only one step (category) off so that the cross-tabulations used to analyze results on this question would show only minor effects from any response errors.

TABLE 4.18. Art Income by Time Devoted to Work in Studio

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	ART INCOME None %	 $1-500 %	 $501-1,000 %	 $1,001-2,000 %	 $2,001-4,000 %	 $4,001-10,000 %	 $10,001-up %	TOTAL % (N)
0-10	33.9	28.5	18.9	9.1	5.3	3.0	1.3	28.1 (311)
11-20	27.9	18.7	14.7	12.1	13.1	8.4	5.1	26.3 (291)
21-30	18.0	15.8	16.7	18.5	16.4	10.4	4.1	18.9 (209)
31-40	14.8	11.8	9.4	11.8	13.7	16.5	22.0	13.5 (149)
41-over	14.9	5.8	7.3	10.7	15.3	22.4	23.5	13.4 (147)
								100.0 (1108)*

Chi Square = 243.75284 with 24 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0

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*Based on weighted data.

The remainder of Table 4.18 shows the relationship of production time to art income (the money earned from the sale of art and from grants or awards). These results show a clear relationship in which artists who spend less time producing art are less likely to earn substantial sums for their work, while those who spend more time are more likely to earn high art incomes. That this relationship is not clearly causal is demonstrated by the substantial number of exceptions located in the lower left hand part of the Table. These artists devote considerable effort to their art, but have little financial reward to show for it. During 1978, 26.6 percent of those who spend 31-40 hours per week and 20.7 percent of those who spend over 40 hours per week received $500 or less dollars for their efforts. In the upper right hand corner of the table, there are very few artists who are able to earn substantial sums (over $4,000) with only a small production effort (less than 20 hours per week). Thus, there seem to be two main groups of artists identified in this table: a large group whose reward is proportional to their effort (in terms of the rather small amounts generally received by artists), and a smaller group who devote substantial time but receive very small rewards.*

The relationship of production costs to production time is shown in Table 4.19. As with income, the expected positive correlation between time and cost is evident.** Those who spend little time have low costs, and those who spend more time have higher costs. The exception is a small group, with small or no costs, who devote a substantial amount of time to their work (in the lower left corner of the table).*** These basic results are both reasonable and they add credibility to the previous discussion which suggested that the

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*In terms of total income, the relationship still holds, but is much less pronounced (Table 26 in Appendix D). There seems to be little impact of total income on production time. Thus, having more money, generally from non-art sources, does not mean that more time will be devoted to the production of art.

**The contingency coefficient is .433.

***Included here are artists whom work has very low production costs.

TABLE 4.19 Production Costs by Time Devoted to Work in Studio

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	EXPENSES None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	TOTAL % (N)
0-10	17.1	29.4	17.1	17.2	13.7	4.6	0.9	100.0 (311)
11-20	11.6	10.6	21.7	24.9	18.2	10.9	1.8	100.0 (291)
21-30	10.5	8.3	10.4	22.8	25.1	18.9	4.1	100.0 (209)
31-40	8.1	2.3	8.0	19.7	32.2	25.1	4.6	100.0 (149)
41-over	8.7	2.6	7.1	15.2	20.7	36.5	9.2	100.0 (147)
Total	12.1	13.4	14.5	20.4	20.5	15.9	3.3	100.0 (1108)*

Chi Square = 254.99937 with 24 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0
Contingency Coefficient = 0.43256

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

observed differences between the four cities are due largely to level of effort rather than other factors. However, they do not explain why efforts, as a whole, differ across cities.*

A potential intervening factor in the cost/studio time relationship is support system. Higher support could create the capacity for more time. However, this potential is modified by the absolute level of income. As seen in Table 4.20, the relationship between support system and studio time is indeed complex. While there are exceptions to the general pattern of studio time distribution, those exceptions do not seem to be related to a particular support/income pattern. Thus, if support system does have an impact on studio time, it is not possible to identify it from these data.

The final factors considered at this point in our discussion are gender and race (Tables 28 and 29 in Appendix D). The slight lag in the art income of female artists can be at least partially explained by the smaller amount of time they spend producing art. There is a small, but statistically significant, tendency for women to spend less time in the studio than their male counterparts. The previously discussed positive relationship between income and studio time suggests that the time use situation accounts for some of the male-female differences in income.

There is no similar pattern of income differences between minorities and whites, and there is no statistically significant difference in the amount of time each group devotes to the production of art (Table 29 in Appendix D).

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*The results for total art work related expenditures closely parallel those presented in Table 4.19 (see Table 27 in Appendix D).

TABLE 4.20. Time Devoted to Work in Studio by Household Support*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK					TOTAL
	0-10 %	11-20 %	21-30 %	31-40 %	41-over %	% (N)
Low Income/High Support	12.0	21.0	33.0	0.0	33.0	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	24.2	14.9	38.4	11.6	10.7	100.0 (24)
High Income/High Support	26.1	28.1	19.2	12.7	13.9	100.0 (152)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	33.1	30.7	19.5	0.0	16.6	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	22.5	28.5	26.8	13.2	9.0	100.0 (59)
High Income/Medium to High Support	20.9	29.5	13.2	22.0	14.4	100.0 (67)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	27.1	10.6	19.0	18.7	24.5	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	16.7	27.8	28.5	14.9	12.2	100.0 (73)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	31.1	31.4	13.1	14.2	10.3	100.0 (94)
Low Income/Low Support	27.8	22.5	20.5	12.2	17.0	100.0 (159)
Medium Income/Low Support	27.3	21.3	24.0	11.9	15.5	100.0 (144)
High Income/Low Support	30.7	34.3	10.0	15.2	9.8	100.0 (94)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)						(925)

Chi Square = 42.660 with 33 degrees of freedom
Significance = .1210

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

In this section we have examined the use of time in producing art and its relationship to income and costs, as well as other factors. The expected positive correlation between time use, on the one hand, and income and expenditures, on the other, are clearly evident in our data. The difference between males and females on the time-use dimension, therefore, at least partially explains income differences between these groups. Differences among cities (or artists in the cities) in production time helps to account for income and expenditure differences at that level as well. However, the question of why such differences exist across cities is still open. In the next section we begin to examine the distribution of time across art-related activities.

The Distribution of Art-Related Time

In this section we examine the relative use of time on two dimensions--the amount of time devoted to the production of art for show or sale, and the amount of time devoted to experimentation with new ideas or techniques. Because of expected difficulties in recalling exact times, artists were asked to indicate only the relative amount of time spent in these areas: Most, Some, Little, or No Time. The distribution of time will again be compared across the economic factors, income, expenditures, and household support, in an attempt to clarify differences in those areas.

The relative importance of production and experimental time is shown in Table 4.21. For slightly over half (54.1 percent) the artists producing work for sales and shows is the most important activity. In comparison, a little more than one quarter (27.4percent) spend most of their time experimenting with new ideas or techniques, while over half spend at least some time in experimentation. Given the necessity for most artists to be concerned with the commercial side of their work and the desire to exhibit their work for whatever non-monetary rewards that exercise may provide, this distribution of time is not

TABLE 4.21. Distribution of Production and Experimental Time*

TIME SPENT	ART ACTIVITY	
	Producing Work For Show or Sale %	Experimenting With New Ideas or Techniques %
Most	57.1	27.4
Some	28.8	51.3
Little	11.3	18.1
No Time	5.8	3.3
Total (N)	100.0 (1122)	100.0 (1128)

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[*] Total based on weighted data.

surprising. In addition, differences in artistic age and artistic goals suggest that some artists already have had their period of "experimentation" and at a given point in time would be concentrating on perfecting and producing in their current mode.

The relationship of time distribution of art income is described in Tables 4.22 and 4.23. Those artists who devote most time to production are likely to have higher incomes that those who devote less time to production (Table 4.22). In the same sense that total time spent producing art was related to income earned from art, the distribution of time in the direction of production also seems to increase earning potential. However, we are still left with the significant question of why some artists choose a production-oriented mode, while others prefer to spend most of their time experimenting. Among possible explanations are the experience level of the artists, the career cycle of the artists, and the quality of the work. Those artists whose work is not generally being accepted into desirable exhibition spaces may be spending more time looking for new ways to make their work acceptable to exhibition gatekeepers.* The variety and complexity of possible explanations for the relationship between production time and income make it extremely difficult to sort out cause and effect within the context of these data. Such an analysis may require a case-by-case examination of the method of operation and motivation of the artists.

In Table 4.23 we see a somewhat weaker, but still significant, relationship between art income and experimental time. Artists who earn more money

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*There is often a fine line between change for the sale of better art (from the artist's perspective) and change which satisfies more commercial interests. Often the artist may not be conscious of the motivation for a particular type of change. It seems clear, however, that artists whose work is continually rejected in desired exhibition spaces are unlikely to "stand pat" with the unsuccessful approach over a long period (specific examples to the contrary not withstanding).

TABLE 4.22. Art Income by Production Time*

ART INCOME	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	 Some Time %	 Little Time %	 No Time %	TOTAL %
$ 0	16.1	22.0	47.0	53.1	24.5
$ 1- 500	13.1	25.9	22.7	17.5	18.1
$ 501- 1,000	13.9	17.3	10.4	17.2	14.7
$ 1,001- 2,000	12.2	15.4	6.6	3.5	12.0
$ 2,001- 4,000	15.4	10.1	5.3	2.0	11.9
$ 4,001-10,000	14.9	5.3	3.0	4.3	10.2
$10,001-over	12.4	4.0	5.0	2.3	8.6
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (607)	100.0 (323)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (1122)

Chi Square = 162.47664 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0
Contingency Coefficient = .356

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 4.23. Art Income by Experimenting Time*

ART INCOME	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	 Some Time %	 Little Time %	 No Time %	TOTAL %
$ 0	29.4	23.3	24.8	40.6	25.8
$ 1- 500	20.1	17.3	17.9	10.2	18.0
$ 501- 1,000	14.0	14.4	13.4	30.8	14.6
$ 1,001- 2,000	14.1	9.5	14.2	6.1	11.5
$ 2,001- 4,000	10.1	14.1	8.5	12.3	11.9
$ 4,001-10,000	8.1	11.6	9.6	0.0	9.9
$10,001-over	4.2	9.8	11.6	0.0	8.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (309)	100.0 (579)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (1128)

Chi Square = 46.53 with 18 degrees of freedon
Significance = 0.0002

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

from their art are somewhat less likely to spend most of their time experimenting. However, most (over 60 percent in the top three income categories) do spend some time experimenting. Perhaps one of the factors in staying successful* is to keep looking for new approaches, but not to let that mode dominate your time.**

In Tables 32 and 33 of Appendix D, we see that the impact of time distribution on expenses is statistically significant, but relatively small in magnitude. In comparing the distribution of expenses for those who spend the most time producing (Table 32) to those who spend the most time experimenting (Table 33), we find very little difference. Thus, spending the most time on experimenting is likely to indicate lower income, but not lower expenses. Put another way, the artists who are searching for something different receive no break in the cost of doing their art.

By factoring in the cost of commissions, which is the primary additional contributor to our measure of total art-related expenses, the impact of production time on expenses becomes more pronounced. Those artists who spend more time on production are more likely to be selling their work and, therefore, are more likely to be paying commissions. Thus, Table 34 in Appendix D shows a stronger positive relationship between production time and costs. Two-thirds of those with most time in production have costs of over $2,000, while only 43.8 percent who indicate some time in production have similar high costs.

The relationship between proportion of time spent in production work and household support system is shown in Table 4.24. Although statistical significance is marginal, there is a tendency for high income artists,

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*All of the artists in this sample were successful (at getting a work exhibited in a professional space) at least once in the three-year timeframe of the study.

**The relationship of production time and experimental time to total income is not statistically significant at the .05 level (Tables 30 and 31 in Appendix D).

TABLE 4.24. Production Time by Household Support*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	 Some Time %	 Little Time %	 No Time %	TOTAL % (N)
Low Income/High Support	50.4	20.0	30.0	0.0	100.0 (10)
Medium Income/High Support	55.0	36.3	8.5	0.0	100.0 (26)
High Income/High Support	55.4	32.9	5.3	6.4	100.0 (153)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	42.6	30.2	27.2	0.0	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	49.9	32.9	10.9	6.3	100.0 (60)
High Income/Medium to High Support	60.5	27.0	9.2	3.3	100.0 (70)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	49.3	39.4	4.9	6.5	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	53.4	30.1	13.4	3.1	100.0 (74)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	53.3	28.0	11.0	7.6	100.0 (97)
Low Income/Low Support	45.1	30.1	17.6	7.2	100.0 (157)
Medium Income/Low Support	57.2	23.1	11.5	8.1	100.0 (140)
High Income/Low Support	67.6	17.9	11.6	2.9	100.0 (96)
Total (N)	54.3	28.4	11.5	5.7	100.0 (931)

Chi Square = 42.66 with 33 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.121.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

regardless of support level, to spend most time in production and for low income artists to be less likely to spend most time in production. This outcome corresponds to similar findings for art income and could result directly from those differences (there is a correlation between art income and total income). The converse of this finding can be seen in Table 4.25, where high income artists are least likely to appear in most time experimenting categories. There are no other indications in the support system data that suggest that the amount of outside support is a factor in the distribution of production and experimentation time.

Summary of Economic and Work Conditions

The economic issues addressed in this chapter were:

1. The artists personal earnings--income related to artists' art work sales, awards, grants, commissioned work, and income from non-art related employment;

2. Expenses pertaining to the production and exposure of art work, working space, dealers' commissions, and art-related educational and informational costs;

3. Artists' employment patterns--full-time and part-time employment in art and non-art related jobs;

4. The availability of working space (studios); and

5. The use of time for art-related activities and, particularly, the relationship of time use and economic conditions.

The following is a summary of our major findings and some of the critical issues involved.

Low income levels characterize considerable proportions of our sample of artists. Over a quarter (26.1 percent) earned no income from the sale of their

TABLE 4.25. Experimenting Time by Household Support*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	PROPORTION OF TIME USED				TOTAL
	Most Time	Some Time	Little Time	No Time	
	%	%	%	%	% (N)
Low Income/High Support	36.1	30.6	21.3	12.0	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	35.3	49.4	15.3	0.0	100.0 (25)
High Income/High Support	31.4	52.1	14.9	1.5	100.0 (149)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	25.5	47.3	27.2	0.0	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	28.9	56.6	14.5	0.0	100.0 (59)
High Income/Medium to High Support	18.8	52.0	27.3	1.9	100.0 (69)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	49.7	38.0	9.0	3.2	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	35.1	47.1	17.9	0.0	100.0 (76)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	27.9	48.2	18.4	5.4	100.0 (94)
Low Income/Low Support	34.5	41.3	17.5	6.7	100.0 (166)
Medium Income/Low Support	25.4	52.3	19.8	2.5	100.0 (146)
High Income/Low Support	14.9	58.1	24.0	3.0	100.0 (94)
Total (N)	28.9	49.5	18.6	3.0	100.0 (937)

Chi Square = 51.633 with 33 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0205

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[*] Totals based on a weighted sample.

work, grants, awards, or from commissioned work; over half received no more than $1,000 (the median was $718). Personal earnings were much higher because they included regular employment income. Household income for artists was about $16,000--slightly below the national average and even lower for the high income communities from which our sample was drawn. However, 38.5 percent of the artists provided less than 50 percent to their household income. Median incomes for art-related jobs held by artists and for non-art jobs held by artists were about $5,000. The majority of these jobs, both art related and non-art related, were part-time.

Women made considerably less, and so did the youngest and oldest cohorts. However, non-white artists did not have significantly different levels of income than whites.

Among the four cities in the sample, Washington, DC, artists had by far the lowest personal earnings, but also the lowest work-related expenses. Total personal earnings were highest in Minneapolis, while work-related expenses were higher in San Francisco and Houston.

The distribution of art-income, the main component of which is income from sales of art works and the distribution of sales records, showed Washington, DC, artists as least well off (the median was $501). Low prices and low art sales records in Washington, DC, were a prevalent issue in our conversations with both artists and dealers in that city. Minneapolis artists also had low sales (the median was $749) when compared to San Francisco (median = $901) and Houston (median = $1,000) artists.

Average work-related expenses were invariably higher than average art income in each of the cities, averaging about twice as much as art income. Work-related expenses did not vary significantly with levels of household support, but they were related to the artist's level of effort (time devoted to art). At least part of the income differences across cities is accounted for in terms of the average level of effort shown by artists in each city, i.e., the lower art income in Washington, DC, corresponds to less time spent doing art.

The issue of expenses, as pursued by the artists we talked to, has many facets. Not only is equipment expensive, but prices rose sharply in the last few years, thus causing particular difficulties for photographers, environmental artists, sculptors, artists who do installations, etc. Exhibition costs and the share paid by the artists to set up shows have increased as well in recent years.

Perhaps as important as material expenses are tax problems. Work-related costs are not deductible items unless artists show some income from the sale of their work. Thus, while most artists spend a considerable amount of time producing art work (over 20 hours a week), they cannot always deduct their expenses. As one Washington, DC, artist said, "That's like the government forces you to make profit. It's illegal." When no art income has been earned, art work-related expenses are considered by the income tax law as expenses for hobbies and other recreational activities and thus are not deductible. Clearly such a stipulation affects many artists who were either unable or unwilling to sell their work, but who do not consider their artistic activities as a hobby or recreation.

The most common employment option for artists is an art-related part-time job (39 percent). About 28 percent hold non-art-related jobs, primarily in non-skilled services and sales occupations. This pattern produces lower income levels for artists and many do not utilize their artistic skills, for which they were trained, in making their living. The artists, however, reaffirmed their dedication to their art work and most are working at paying jobs.

Part-time employment is more often a necessity to the artists who need to spend a great amount of time producing, exhibiting and selling their art work.

Even artists who do not have studio space continued to work on their art and devoted time to producing their work despite the high costs and regardless of household support.

Having a studio space, the major place where their art work is produced, had both cost and income implications. Expenses for studio space were a major concern among the artists. As one Washington, DC, artist said, "Artists cannot afford having separate studios from their homes; I can't afford two rents and zoning laws do not allow it. In New York, if you qualify as an artist you can do that." The main issue was rent prices for studios in the downtown or art gallery areas, particularly in Washington, DC, and Minneapolis. These areas are prime speculation targets. A Minneapolis artist said, "As soon as artists get in, someone smells a booming business and sells the building for a high price. Soon we have to pay higher rents or leave." "You know, they are the same people that buy our paintings; but on the other hand they are kicking us out." said a Washington, DC, artist. Artists in the four cities commented on the availability of warehouses which could be turned out into low-rent studio spaces. "They are sitting on it, waiting for the property value to go up; in the meantime the buildings just stay there rotting," another Washington, DC artist said. A request that public authorities buy such property and rent it to artists has been voiced in each one of the cities, both by artists and exhibitors.

The absence of studio space inhibits production, according to the artists, and, as our survey data show, higher production time is associated with higher art incomes. Some artists have solved this problem by forming coops which often offer space at reduced group rates.

Table 4.26 presents a correlation matrix for selected economic and demographic variables which were discussed throughout the chapter. The statistically significant relationships are marked with an asterisk (*), and the table is presented as a summary of major issues discussed in the chapter.*

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*Because some variables are nominal categories, they are not included in the matrix.

Table 4.26. Spearman Correlations - Income, Expenses and Demographic Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Household Income	--	-.214*	.070	.083	.024	.040	-.017	.073	.178*	.064	.041	.032	.024	.083
2. Artist's Percentage of Household Income		--	.090**	.403*	.107*	.101*	.024	-.472*	-.171*	-.100*	.083	.104*	.001	-.092
3. Art Income		--	--	.651*	.537*	.660*	.338*	-.173*	.076	.013	-.018*	-.005	.077	.138*
4. Artist's Income				--	.407*	.488*	.153*	-.432*	.048	-.026	-.111*	.171*	.103*	.178*
5. Production Costs					--	.926*	.182*	-.181*	.051	.011	.036	.021	.067	.045
6. Total Expenses						--	.170*	-.181*	.057	-.009	-.005	.028	.076	.084
7. Number of Works Sold in 1978							--	-.046	-.016	.034	.099**	-.080	-.048	.063
8. Sex[1/]								--	.074	.127*	.085	-.143*	-.049	-.068
9. Age									--	.050	.208*	-.115*	.650*	.077
10. Race[2/]										--	-.009	.031	-.035	-.000
11. Art Education											--	-.632*	-.007	-.027
12. Level of Formal Education[3/]												--	-.065	.065
13. Professional Age													--	.067
14. Number of Dependents														--

[1/] Sex: 1 - male, 2 - female
[2/] Race: 1 - nonwhite, 2 - white
[3/] Formal Education: 1 - lowest

* Significant at .000 level
** Significant at .001 level

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CHAPTER 5

OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS I: EXPOSURE

INTRODUCTION

The "economic and work conditions" discussed in the previous chapter are neither independent of, nor can they be understood separately from, other conditions that pertain to the social, socio-economic, and organizational environment of practicing artists. Among the most important of these conditions are: (1) exhibition spaces where artists show or try to show their work; (2) the accessibility of these spaces; (3) the set of rewards or incentives artists receive for their work and the effects of these incentives on the artists' future chances in the art market; (4) the constraints and limitations artists encounter both in the art market and society in general; and (5) the ways by which artists cope with such constraints. We have termed these conditions "occupational" because they influence the organization of the artistic work and the social dynamics involved in the accomplishment of major artistic roles, exhibition and sales.

This chapter focuses on aspects of exposure, specifically, where artists exhibit and sell their work, the effects of work conditions on patterns of exposure, and the rewards, primarily monetary, artists receive for exhibiting and selling their work. The next chapter will focus on artists' efforts to get exhibited, the relationships between artists and exhibitors in the context of exhibition objectives and impact of these factors on accessibility.

The term exposure encompasses not only the extent to which artists exhibit their work in galleries or museums, but also other forms of access to exhibition spaces. These forms include, sales representatives, individual effort, and commissioned work.

In the first section of this chapter we examine the exhibition records of the artists in our study. These records provide some idea of the professional experience of the artists and the pattern of exhibitions they have had. We then look at exhibition records/exposure patterns in terms of basic demographic characteristics of the artists. This section and those which follow provide an attempt to understand (explain) the observed exhibition patterns. The following sections examine selection mode, sales and work conditions. Thus, in this chapter we present a description of exposure and its relationship to the economic and work conditions described in the previous chapter.

EXHIBITION RECORD

Aggregate Exhibition Record

The major component of exposure is public exhibition or shows in which artists participate. The kinds of public shows artists had during the period of 1975 to 1978 were categorized in terms of: (1) the type of exhibition space in which shows were held, and (2) the number of people in the show, namely one person shows, small group shows (2-5 people) and large groups (6 or more people). The former category will be referred to as location and the latter will be called the type of show. The categories of spaces include: (1) museums; (2) private commercial galleries; (3) libraries (with regular art exhibition facilities); (4) cooperative galleries (those owned and run by artists); (5) "alternative spaces," which include continuously operating or occasional spaces with the primary purpose of exhibiting art not likely to be shown in other types of space with financial support generally from independent sources (including government grants); and (6) all other types of spaces. Alternative spaces are generally known for the fact that they provide a showcase for new forms or styles of art, i.e., the avant garde.

Sometimes they are highly structured and appear like regular galleries except for the types of work they show. Examples are 80 Langton Street in San Francisco and Washington Project for the Arts (WPA) in Washington, DC.

Exhibitions by location and type of show are presented in Table 5.1. A detailed presentation for different groupings of exhibitions by place is presented in Tables 1 - 6, Appendix E. Distributions of exhibitions by type of show is provided in Tables 7 - 9, Appendix E. The location and distribution of "other" space shows is presented in Table 10, Appendix E.

Table 5.1 reflects not only what artists do, but also what exhibitors do. The most common type of exhibit in all locations is a large group show. One person and small group shows are less common, reflecting the prestige associated with showing alone or with only a few others at any space. However, the distribution of show types is not the same for each location. Alternative space shows are least common for all types of shows. Cooperative gallery shows are more common than alternative space shows, but somewhat less common than museum shows. Thus, what is generally considered to be the most prestigeous location for a show is not the least frequent. This reflects both the number of spaces and newness of many of the alternative space and cooperative galleries. Private gallery and public space shows are most common.

There are also significant differences in exhibition patterns among cities. San Francisco artists are more likely to have exhibited in museums and to have had a one-person or small group show in a museum. This difference parallels previously discussed economic and experience differences between San Francisco artists and those from other cities. It may also reflect that San Francisco's museums seem to be somewhat more oriented toward local artists than the museums in the other cities. Washington, DC, artists are least likely to have had a museum show. Despite the many museums in Washington, only one demonstrates consistent loyalty to local artists and even this is somewhat infrequent. Overall, public space shows are more common in Minneapolis. The other three cities have similar patterns. San Francisco artists are slightly more likely to have had private gallery shows, while Minneapolis artists are slightly less likely. Minneapolis seemed to have a somewhat lower ratio of galleries to artists than the other cities, which might explain part of the difference. The most likely type of show for Minneapolis artists is in public spaces (universities, colleges, libraries, and public outdoor spaces).

San Francisco and Houston artists were less likely to have had shows in cooperatives than artists in other cities, but somewhat more likely to have had shows in alternative spaces. Because cooperatives are more likely to be joined by younger artists (in professional age), this distribution is consistent with previously discussed economic and experience differences. The more frequent use of alternative spaces by San Francisco artists was also expected, but the relative higher use of this space by Houston artists is somewhat surprising, since there is no "legitimate" alternative space in Houston.*

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*Houston has no space like 80 Langton, which regularly shows new and experimental art forms.

Tables 1 through 6 in Appendix E present, in detail, the breakout of the number of exhibits occuring in each type of space in each city. The figures of greatest general interest are those which indicate the total proportion of artists who had shows in each type of space during the three years covered by our survey. Almost three quarters (73.5%) of the artists exhibited in some kind of public space during the reference period (Table 2). This compares to just over half (57%) who exhibited in private galleries (Table 3). The similarity between these locations on the dimension of types of exhibits (Table 5.1) is not extended to the number of artists who are likely to have had at least one exhibit in the space. For the remaining places, 43.4 percent of the artists had museum shows (Table 1), 32.2 percent showed in cooperatives (Table 4), 27.2 percent showed in "other" types of spaces (Table 6), and only 15.5 percent showed in alternative spaces (Table 5).

There are also some striking differences among cities. For example, 58.8 percent of the San Francisco artists have shown in museums, while only 29.6 percent of the Washington artists have had similar successes (Table 1). Houston and Minneapolis are at about the overall average. Washington and San Francisco artists are equally likely to have shown in public spaces (about 70%), while Houston and Minneapolis artists are somewhat more likely to have used this exhibition mode (about 75% and 79% respectively) (Table 2). San Francisco artists are much more likely to have shown in private galleries (66.8%), than artists from any of the other cities (Table 3). Washington artists, on the other hand, are much more likely to have shown in cooperatives, 54 percent to 32.8 percent for the next closest city, Minneapolis (Table 4). This pattern seems to indicate that a failure to exhibit in the traditional spaces, museums and private galleries, can lead to a reliance on different types of spaces, in this instance cooperatives. It suggests that Washington artists do not have the museum and private gallery space available to them that is available to artists in other cities (even Minneapolis in our sample). This is an argument that some Washington artists made in our group discussions. One reason for this problem, suggested by some Washington artists, is the proximity and influence of New York. Another related reason is the highly transient population, which does not have ties to the Washington community and therefore looks to more nationally known artists or artists from "back home," thus reducing demand for Washington artists.

From 16% to 18% of the artists from Washington, San Francisco, and Minneapolis have shown in alternative spaces. Only about 10% of the Houston artists had the same opportunity during the 1976 - 1978 period. This distribution reflects the previously mentioned lack of a regular alternative space in the Houston area. Across all cities it could indicate that the artists who are working in new or experimental art forms are being exhibited roughly in proportion to their numbers in the artist population. Since we do not know the exact art forms shown in alternative spaces, there is no way to verify this conclusion beyond a simple comparison of numbers of shows and artists.

Tables 7, 8, and 9, in Appendix E, show the distributions for types of shows (regardless of location). Just over 60 percent of the responding artists had one person shows during the three year time frame. Just over 50% had small group shows. For these types of shows there were no significant differences among the cities. There was a much wider range for large group shows, where 90% of the Washington artists participated and only about 80% of the Houston and Minneapolis artists participated. San Francisco artists are about halfway between. Thus, with the exception of the number of artists participating in large group shows, the major differences between artists in different cities lies in where the shows were held rather than in what type of show it was.

Individual Exhibition Record

Table 5.1 reviewed the three-year aggregate exhibition records of the sample artists. In this section we address the issue of individual exhibition records. In our analysis, exhibition record is an important part of our attempt to understand the artists' situation, the process by which artists exhibit their work, and the economic conditions under which artists operate. It is also an important factor in its own right, because it provides a summary of an important part of the artist's professional life.

While the major components of exhibition records are relatively easy to abstractly define and identify, they are much more difficult to measure in the context of a survey such as the one used in this study. An exhibition record contains 3 components: (1) the type of exhibition; (2) the type of space for each exhibition; and (3) the quality of the space.* There are a number of ways in which these individual factors could be aggregated or summed to produce an overall indicator of the artists' exhibition status.** At the simplest level the number of shows could be used. A two dimensional

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*This definition is independent of the "quality" of the show, which may include how the work was received by the public, what any critics said, and how it sold, among other factors.

**Any aggregation is in some degree artificial if it leaves out the question of quality and if it does not represent what the artist is currently doing.

TABLE 5.1 Proportion of Artists Having Each Type of Exhibit During 1976 - 1978 By City*

	WASHINGTON, DC	SAN FRANCISCO	MINNEAPOLIS	HOUSTON
	%	%	%	%
MUSEUM SHOWS				
1 Person	8.5	18.6	8.6	14.3
Small Group	5.4	13.2	12.6	7.9
Large Group	25.9	50.0	33.5	40.2
PUBLIC SPACES				
1 Person	23.7	29.5	46.8	24.3
Small Group	17.4	24.5	33.1	25.4
Large Group	54.9	50.9	56.1	63.5
PRIVATE GALLERIES				
1 Person	28.1	33.6	29.1	23.6
Small Group	22.8	22.7	17.6	26.5
Large Group	36.2	38.6	29.1	33.9
COOPERATIVE GALLERIES				
1 Person	12.9	6.8	10.1	4.2
Small Group	15.2	5.9	9.7	5.3
Large Group	46.9	20.5	23.4	13.2
ALTERNATIVE SPACES				
1 Person	1.8	9.1	4.7	7.9
Small Group	4.0	5.5	1.8	5.8
Large Group	13.8	9.5	5.0	6.9
OTHER SPACES				
1 Person	12.9	14.5	15.1	13.2
Small Group	5.3	6.4	5.0	4.2
Large Group	15.2	12.3	18.0	15.9
TOTAL No. OF ARTISTS WHO HAVE EXHIBITED	224	220	278	189
% NOT EXHIBITED AT ALL OR DID NOT ANSWER	0.9	2.7	5.1	3.1
TOTAL SAMPLE	226	226	233	195

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*Some artists may have omitted exhibitions of works not completed for showing during the specified timeframe, therefore indicating no shows in the reference period.

model might include the number of shows and the type of show (one person, small group, etc). A third dimension is the type of location (museum, private gallery, cooperative, etc). Locations could be ordered based on some general idea of overall quality to produce a fourth dimension. A fifth dimension is the quality of spaces within locations (certain museums, galleries, etc., are more prestigious than others). A sixth dimension could be how the exhibition was received, especially by a critic.

Beyond single aspects of an exhibition are patterns. The first pattern type is an aggregation of two or more of the dimensions which summarizes an artists exhibition history over a period of time. A simple version of this approach would be to say that an artist had two museum shows, and four cooperative shows over the three year period which our study covers. This type of aggregation may create as many problems as it resolves. For example, if we were comparing artists,* how many cooperative shows equals one museum show? Thus, a subsequent step might be to increase the complexity of our pattern by adding a quality dimension.

A second pattern could include the sequence of exhibits. For example, an artist moving from a large group show at a cooperative, to a small group show at a reputable private gallery, to a one person show at a museum, might be considered to be progressing. If the sequence were reversed, we could have a very different opinion of the artist's stature.**

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*Comparison, after all, is a basic element of any study of groups of individuals across dimensions of their behavior. In this study we compare artists in different cities, artists who work in different art forms, artists with different economic situations, and artists with different exhibition experiences. Comparison is one of the most useful analytic tools to help us understand the experience of all artists, not just a particular artist.

**The number, type of show, and location are the same for both artists in this example.

A third pattern might be based on the configuration of all exhibits for each artist. Such an analysis could ignore qualitative dimensions and include only number, type of exhibit and location. Its analytic value would be derived from a comparison of artists who had similar patterns.

Because we were interested in some indication of the quality of an artists' exhibition record, we developed one measure which includes number of shows, type of show and location from the exhibition histories collected in our survey. The qualitative aspects of this measure are weights which are applied to type of show and location. The show weights are 4 for one person, 2 for small group and 1 for large group.* Similarly, type of space was also weighted using the following order: museum shows were judged to be most important; these were followed by alternative spaces, private galleries, public spaces, cooperative galleries, and "other" spaces.**

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*Other possibilities included, for example, giving one-person shows a higher weight, say 6, in comparison to other types. This decision is arbitrary. The reader needs simply to be aware of the specific approach used when interpreting results.

**This ordering was suggested by staff members of the Visual Arts Division of the National Endowment for the Arts. It is one of several that might have been used and it is based on an "average" evaluation of the type of space. Thus, as with all measures of the quality of spaces, there is room for error. We hope to have reduced some of the error potential by using categories of the final scores rather than specific scores for most of the analyses.

We have used this approach for two reasons. First, the level of data feasible in a mail survey data collection effort is severely limited. It was felt that requiring more information, e.g., the specific spaces in which exhibitions were held, would have put too severe a burden on respondents. Second, even knowing the specific spaces would have left much room for error in judgments: (1) it would have been misleading to let artists judge the quality of the spaces because they would not have been judging from the same reference point; (2) a third party comparison of spaces across cities--1) gallery A in Houston <,>or = to Gallery B in San Francisco-- could be equally misleading; and (3) even comparisons within cities, for example by using reputational methods, has reliability and validity difficulties (Sharon, 1979). (Footnote continued following page)

The overall difference among the last three types was considered to be small, thus they were weighted, in reverse order 1, 2, 3. Museums and alternative spaces were weighted 10 and 7 respectively. An artist's exhibition history was graded using the above criteria by multiplying the type of show by the location, then by the number of shows with these characteristics. Finally, the products of different types of shows were summed for each artist.* This indicator is termed the weighted exhibition record. Individual scores were categorized into five groups: (1) 0-10; (2) 11-20; (3) 21-30; (4) 31-40; and (5) 41 or more. These numbers represent weighted scores, not the simple number of shows, number of types of shows, or number of shows in different locations.

**(Continued from preceding page)

We are aware that this technique could lead to some gross misclassifications of artists in comparison to, say, a reputational technique. For example, the best known artist may have had only one local museum show in the three year reference period. This would not put this artist in the highest rated group. While it is unfortunate that such misclassifications can occur, there seems to be no practical way to avoid this problem in this context and, to our knowledge, there is no practical way to avoid it in any context that includes a large number of artists with widely divergent exhibition experiences.

*For example, an artist with two one-person museum shows and three small group cooperative shows would obtain a score of 10(museum) x 4 (one person) x 2(number of shows) + 2 (cooperative) x 2 (small group) x 3 (number of shows) = 92 or a fairly substantial three-year record. In contrast, an artist with five large group cooperative shows would have a score of 10. The difference between these scores, despite what the numbers may seem to say, may be considered at least ordinal (i.e., 92 is more than 10), and we may be able to agree that the artist in the first example has a much better record than the second artist (if you agree with the weights used), but one should not argue that artist 1 had a record which is 9 times better than artist 2. The grey area occurs in trying to compare differences. Is the difference between artist 1 and artist 2 -- 82 points -- the same as the difference between two artists whose scores are 102 and 20 (i.e., is this an interval scale)? Because of the potential for disagreement about the assigned weights, we have treated it only as an ordinal scale. In later statistical analyses, which correlates exhibition history results, a Spearman Rho, rather than a Pearson, is used to create a correlation matrix.

The distribution of weighted scores by category is presented in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2. Weighted Exhibition Record, 1975-1978

Weighted Number of Exhibitions	Percent of Artists
0 - 10	27.9
11 - 20	27.5
21 - 30	21.0
31 - 40	12.6
41 Up	10.9
Total (N)	100.0 (1172)*

These category divisions were used because they divide artists into relatively equal groups at lower levels and permit the separation of more experienced artists a higher weighted level.**

Weighted exhibition record represents one type of exhibition measurement. A somewhat more neutral approach is taken in the second method used in this study. This approach uses a technique called cluster analysis to achieve the previously described objective of grouping artists according to their combined exhibition records. (See Appendix G for a detailed description of the clustering technique used in this analysis.) In order to operationalize the cluster

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[*] Total based on a weighted sample.

[**] The reader may want to construct some sample exhibition records which fit into each category in order to provide a more concrete reference by which category membership may be interpreted. For example, an artist in Category 1 (0-10) may have had one small group show in a private gallery, but no other shows and not a one-person show in a private gallery. An artist in group 3 (21-30) may have had two one person private gallery shows or three one-person cooperative shows, but not a one-person museum show, etc.

analysis in this context, shows were grouped as follows: (1) one person museum shows; (2) small group museum, one-person private gallery and small group private gallery; (3) one-person and small group public space; (4) large group museum, private gallery and public space; (5) one-person, small group alternative space and/or cooperative; (6) large group alternative space and/or cooperative; (7) one person "other" space; and (8) small or large group "other" space.* Each artist was given a score for each group based on the number of shows of that type. The distribution of number of shows for each exhibition group is shown in Table 11, Appendix E. Thus, each artist had an exhibition record profile consisting of eight numbers whose range was from 0 (no shows of that type N, the highest number of shows of that type). The cluster analysis grouped artists who had the same or similar profiles. That is, artists who, over the three year reference period, had exhibited in the same locations, with the same types of shows (one-person, etc.), approximately the same number of times. The results of this analysis are relative, i.e., there is no absolute set of criteria for judging the strength of the groups beyond the central tendencies of each cluster and the substantive logic of the groups. Table 5.3 shows the average number of shows for each type of exhibit in each cluster.

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*The cluster analysis was also run against a variety of other exhibition record configurations, including: (a) total number of shows; (b) number of one-person shows; (c) number of museum shows; and (d) "weighted" shows. Because of limitations of the technique, it was not possible to use configurations which included nominal categories. Of analyses run, the most reasonable results were produced using the reported configuration. The reader should also note that these groupings are somewhat different than those used in the weighted exhibition record.

TABLE 5.3. Mean Number of Exhibitions by Cluster

CLUSTER	TYPE OF EXHIBITION								
	One Person Museum	Small Group Museum One Person or Small Group Private Gallery	One Person or Small Group Public Gallery	Large Group Museum Public Space or Private Gallery	One Person or Small Group Alternative Space or Cooperative	Large Group Cooperative or Alternative Space	One Person "Other" Space	Small Group or Large Group "Other Space"	N
1. Low Exhibitions	.1	.26	.41	.79	.31	.56	.15	.26	330
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	.25	1.49	1.34	8.58	.41	.65	.14	.36	118
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	.52	2.06	1.37	14.48	.26	.96	.22	.98	54
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	.06	.72	1.24	4.5	.93	8.18	.24	.72	54
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	.13	.78	4.29	1.58	.61	.24	.29	.24	72
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	.03	.58	1.00	5.06	.45	2.29	1.06	8.74	31
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	.19	.64	.58	4.27	.23	.42	.18	.29	165
8. High Exhibitions In All Types of Spaces	.58	4.83	10.67	13.25	2.42	1.5	.25	1.58	12
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	.21	3.14	.72	.94	.51	.17	.17	.28	90
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	.07	.29	.29	4.57	.57	1.57	7.43	.71	14
OVERALL MEAN FOR 8 CATEGORIES OF EXHIBIT	.18	1.016	1.11	3.86	.415	1.038	.302	.647	TOTAL N = 940

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The clusters are distinguished on the basis of where the most exhibits occur. At the bottom of the table is the overall mean for each type of exhibit. The degree to which cluster means are more or less than the overall mean is the second important factor in identifying clusters. Underlined figures indicate the types of shows used in defining the clusters. Several different cluster patterns, range from five to ten clusters, were examined before the ten cluster solution was selected as the most meaningful for our analysis. Each cluster is defined below:

1. Artists in the first cluster have few exhibits in any category. The group is probably composed of a mixture of artists, most of whom are not very successful and/or are very inexperienced. Some, however, may be highly experienced or successful artists who were generally inactive during the period covered by our survey. It seems likely that the latter group is a small proportion of the 330 artists in this cluster. 35.1%

2. The second cluster is composed of relatively active artists with most exhibits in large group museum and private gallery shows, and with a greater than average number of exhibits in one-person public space shows and small group museum, private gallery and public space shows. Relative to the first and third clusters, these artists seem to be in the middle range of experience and exhibition success. They also tend to exhibit in the more traditional spaces. 12.6%

3. These are very active artists with many exhibits in large group museum and private gallery shows, more than an average number of one-person public gallery shows and small group museum, private gallery and public gallery shows. They are most distinguishable, however, in that they have three-times the average number of one-person shows. The exhibition pattern suggests that they are probably more traditional in their approach to art (as distinguished from Group 8 below). The elite character of this group is suggested by their small number, N=54. 5.7%

4. The particular combination of exhibitions in this group suggests that they are largely cooperative artists. The major exhibition type is a large group alternative space and cooperative galleries. The second most common type is large group museum, public and private galleries. They are also more likely than average (about 2-times) to have had one person or small group shows in alternative spaces or cooperatives. With the exception of large group shows, these artists have not had great success in the traditional prestige spaces. 5.7%

5. The dominant exhibition type of this group is in one-person and small group shows in public spaces. The most common public spaces, using our definition, are university galleries and libraries with regular galleries. Thus, the artists are likely to be university associated. They have had little success in other types of spaces, with the possible exception of a slightly higher than average number of exhibits in cooperatives or alternative spaces. 7.7

6. The dominant exhibition mode of this group is in "other" spaces. They are also more likely to have had large group shows in the remaining types of spaces. "Other" spaces include art fairs, mall shows, and such non-traditional spaces as banks and restaurants. These artists are also more likely to have exhibited in large group cooperative and alternative spaces. This pattern suggests a combination of younger artists and craft oriented artists; the former because they have not had the experience to obtain the more "advanced" exhibition spaces and the latter because they tend to use the art fair/mall show mode and large group shows more than other types of artists. Because our sample underrepresented craft artists and did not seek artists who use "other" types of spaces, this group is small, N=31. 3.3

7. These artists have the single outstanding characteristic of having had more large group shows in museums, public spaces or private galleries. Such a pattern suggests traditional artists with less experience or general success, but who have had more success than the artists in Group 1. The size of this group (N=165) shows a pyramiding of success patterns with the least successful group (Cluster 1) having the largest number of artists (N=330) followed by the present cluster (N=165), artists in Cluster 2 (N=118), artists in Cluster 9 (N=90), artists in Cluster 3 (N=54) and artists in Cluster 8 (N=12). The smaller groups have an increasing number of high prestige exhibits. 17.6

8. These are the most active exhibitors in our sample. They are more likely to have shows in all types of spaces and shows. The high number of cooperative/alternative space shows may indicate that this group is more likely to include very successful avant garde artists. There are only 12 artists in this group. 1.3

9. Artists in this group seem capable of obtaining good shows, small group shows in museums, and one person or small group shows in private galleries, but perhaps are not as active as other artists. The type of space where most of their exhibits occur suggests a traditional approach to art. In terms of the type of show and its location, they are more successful than artists in Cluster 2, but overall they have few exhibits. 9.6

10. The final group of artists is substantially more likely to have had one-person or small group shows in "other" spaces, and slightly more likely to have had large group shows in museums, public or private galleries. This pattern suggests less experienced artists

(exhibiting in banks, restaurants, etc.) and a traditional approach to their art (not radical or experimental). However, this is a small group (N=14) whose relationship to the "mainstream" of art is difficult to gauge. 1.5%

There are two general comments which apply to the foregoing clusters. The first concerns the pyramiding of clusters discussed in the description of Cluster 7. This pattern reflects a career development process in which an ever decreasing number of artists are able to achieve the more prestigious exhibition opportunities.* The second general characteristic of the clusters is that, with the possible exception of numbers 1, 9 and 7, clusters contain multiple types of exhibits and spaces. This suggests that most artists who are having some success at exhibiting, do so in a variety of spaces. There are no groups who exhibit only in museums or private galleries or public spaces, etc. Artists in the first cluster have very few exhibits so that no pattern is possible. In Cluster 7, the pattern of large group shows occurs in a variety of locations. Similarly, the small group and one person pattern in Cluster 7 is spread across several locations.

In the remaining sections of this Chapter we will examine some of the artistic and individual characteristics which may be related to weighted exhibition record and cluster membership.

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*As discussed previously, our data do not contain quality indicators for differences within types of spaces. Thus, the quality differences implied in these data are based only on location, type of show and number of shows. This means the groups are probably somewhat more loosely structured than the clusters indicate.

EXHIBITION PATTERN AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

In this section we examine the relationship of exhibition records, defined by weighted exhibition record and cluster membership, and two types of individual differences, art form and demographics. Our objective is to identify intrinsic factors which may account for differences in exhibition patterns.

Exhibition Record and Art Form

Table 5.4 shows the distribution of weighted exhibition record (WER) for each art form. The most noticable differences occur among drawers and craft artists who are significantly more likely to appear in the lowest two categories. For drawers this may be the result of a failure to exhibit, as we saw in Chapter 4. For craft artists, this outcome may be attributable to the locations (usually "other") where they are more likely to exhibit.* Artists who use "new forms" are the most likely to appear in the highest two categories (45.7% to 36.7% for printmakers and 28.3% for artists working in multiple visual forms). Since previous results showed that "new forms" artists are not likely to have a large number of shows, it can be assumed that they are more likely to have high prestige shows, such as museums and one person or small group shows.

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of art forms across exhibition clusters and presents results which generally support cluster definitions. Printmakers, for example, appear in clusters defined as traditional, with the exception of a substantial group (16.1%) who are likely to have exhibited

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*It will be recalled that "other" spaces were the lowest rated category.

TABLE 5.4. Weighted Exhibition Record by Art Form*

	ART FORM									
WEIGHTED EXHIBITIONS	PAINTING %	SCULPTURE %	PRINT-MAKING %	DRAWING %	PHOTO-GRAPHY %	NEW FORMS: VIDEO CONCEP'L. PERFORM. ENVIRON. INSTAL. %	CRAFTS %	MULTIPLE VISUAL FORMS %	OTHER ART FORMS %	ROW TOTAL %
Up to 10	24.9	28.4	22.0	37.9	28.2	22.9	47.6	39.4	25.9	27.9
11 - 20	31.3	30.0	24.6	43.3	23.9	14.3	24.6	15.9	23.9	27.6
21 - 30	22.6	24.9	16.7	15.7	23.1	17.1	13.5	16.3	20.6	21.0
31 - 40	12.6	9.3	20.6	3.1	10.5	4.5	5.4	19.1	13.3	12.5
41 and Up	8.6	7.5	16.1	0.0	14.4	25.7	2.9	9.2	16.3	11.0
ROW TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (382)	100.0 (157)	100.0 (78)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (115)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 73.75520 with 32 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5.5. Exhibition Cluster by Art Form*

EXHIBITION CLUSTERS	Painting %	Sculpture %	Print-making %	Drawing %	Photography %	New Forms: Video, Concept. Environ., Installation %	Crafts %	Multiple Visual Forms %
1. Low Exhibitions	31.0	44.4	23.5	46.6	41.2	41.5	28.6	36.6
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	11.3	16.5	20.4	6.1	11.9	10.9	12.1	11.2
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	6.4	1.5	9.5	5.7	4.5	2.9	3.3	20.3
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	5.4	8.1	16.1	2.7	4.2	2.9	5.2	0.0
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	7.8	6.5	4.8	7.2	10.0	10.9	6.2	4.0
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	5.8	0.8	1.7	2.7	1.1	0.0	9.9	4.0
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	17.1	17.0	18.4	12.9	17.5	5.7	23.3	23.9
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	1.6	1.5	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.9	0.0	0.0
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	12.9	2.1	5.5	13.1	7.3	16.6	7.0	0.0
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	1.3	0.6	0.0	3.1	0.0	5.7	4.3	0.0
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (381)	100.0 (157)	100.0 (78)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (115)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (25)

Chi square = 132.90543 with 72 degrees of freedom. Significance 0.0000 in cooperative or alternative spaces. They are also least likely to appear in the low exhibitions cluster (cluster 1). Almost half of the drawers (46.6%) and more than 40% of the sculptors, photographers and new forms artists are in the low exhibitions cluster. This outcome supports other results based purely on the number of exhibits. Painters, whose work may show the wider variety of approaches, appear more equally distributed across all clusters than any of the other groups. Relatively more craft artists (14.2%) appear in the "other" spaces clusters (6 and 10) than any of the other art form groups. "New form" artists (10.9%) and photographers (10.0%) are most likely to be in Cluster 5 which is oriented toward alternative spaces and cooperatives. These artists are also more likely to appear in Cluster 8, high exhibitions in all types of spaces, which we described earlier as being the likely location of well known new forms artists (although the small N in this group makes conclusions tenuous).

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

The results in Table 5.5 provide substantial overall support for the idea that art form is a significant contributor to the artists' exhibition patterns -- both where they exhibit and how often they exhibit. These results further suggest that access to exhibition space is not independent of art form. Thus, being a sculptor or drawer limits the number of shows you are likely to get, while working with new forms and being a photographer limits the types of spaces in which you are likely to show. To most close observers of contemporary art scenes, these results are probably not revelations but they do provide some systematic support for the argument that a kind of selection "bias" does exist and they show where it operates. In subsequent tables we examine more traditional demographic and experiential factors.

Exhibition Record and Demographic Characteristics

Age

Two tables in Appendix E, Table 12 - Exhibition Cluster by Age, and Table 13 - Weighted Exhibition Record by Age, show the relationship of chronological age to the two exhibition indicators. There is no statistically significant relationship between cluster membership and age. Thus, even the dimension of clusters which appear to reflect the status of the exhibition are not a function of chronological age. However, age is related to weighted exhibition record (Table 13). The relationship is not strong, nor is it linear (i.e., WER does not exactly follow age). Those artists with the lowest probability of appearing in the lowest exhibition category are 30 - 49 years old. Those with highest probability are 18 - 29 years old and 50 or more years old. Conversely, those with greatest probability to be in the highest exhibition category are in the middle age categories, 30 - 59 years old. The middle exhibition groups do not have strong patterns across age groups. These results suggest that it takes some time for younger artists to build up an exhibition record, while the much older artists may tend to slow down.* The most active period seems to occur in the 30 - 49 year old group.

Professional Age

Professional age is the number of years artists have been practicing their art. Because of differences in ability, access and other factors, we would not expect a perfect relationship between professional age and weighted exhibition record. Table 5.6 shows a pattern of professional age and weighted exhibitions similar to chronological age. Artists with the least professional experience are, as expected, most likely to have a lower weighted exhibition score. Almost half (48.7%) the artists with up to three years professional experience scored only 0 - 10; 31.6% scored 11 - 20; 9.2% scored 21 - 30; etc. The group with the lowest proportion (16.0%) in the 0 - 10 weighted exhibition category had 11 to 15 years experience. Those with more experience were more likely to be in the 0-10 category. This is the same U shaped pattern seen in the analysis of chronological age. It suggests a chronological age by professional age interaction. For younger artists professional age is more important, while for older artists chronological age may have a greater impact on the WER's. As with chronological age, the results in the middle exhibition categories are less clear than those at the extremes. At the high end of exhibition record, professional age seems to have a clearer impact. The proportion with an exhibition score of 41 plus is smallest (1.3%) for those with least experience and largest (14.7%) for those with most experience. The middle experience categories are very similar, suggesting other factors operate to determine weighted exhibition record during those years.

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*It should be noted that the three-year record used in this study is not cumulative, but only a "snapshot" of a particular period in each artist's life. It shows how artists act in each age cohort. The aggregated results show the pattern associated with age.

Cluster membership is also significantly related to professional age (Table 5.7), although the pattern is more irregular. Artists with three years or less experience are most likely to be in Cluster 1, which represents the group with fewest exhibits. Artists with 11 to 15 years experience are

TABLE 5.6. Weighted Exhibition Record by Professional Age*

WEIGHTED EXHIBITION	NUMBER OF YEARS PRACTICING ART Up to 3 Yrs. %	4 - 6 Yrs. %	7 - 10 Yrs. %	11 - 15 Yrs. %	16 - 20 Yrs. %	21 or More Yrs. %
0 - 10	48.7	31.4	26.5	16.0	28.7	28.5
11 - 20	31.5	21.7	29.3	30.0	30.6	25.0
21 - 30	9.2	20.8	23.8	24.2	17.0	20.3
31 - 40	9.2	17.3	8.3	18.4	12.4	11.0
41 Up	1.3	8.9	12.0	11.4	11.3	14.7
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (76)	100.0 (189)	100.0 (246)	100.0 (199)	100.0 (150)	100.0 (261)

Chi Square = 60.40285 with 26 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5.7. Exposure Cluster by Professional Age*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	Number of Years Practicing Art 0-5 Yrs.	6-10 Yrs.	11-15 Yrs.	16-20 Yrs.	21-25 Yrs.	26+ Yrs.
1. Low Exhibitions	48.0	35.5	36.7	29.8	32.1	33.9
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	8.8	13.6	14.6	10.9	13.4	12.8
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	3.4	5.7	5.1	5.8	7.0	7.4
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	8.1	8.5	5.0	4.4	4.8	5.0
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	1.3	7.3	7.6	12.5	7.7	3.5
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	6.7	3.5	3.5	4.1	2.9	2.3
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	17.0	17.0	14.8	21.5	19.9	16.6
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	0.0	0.8	1.7	0.0	1.9	2.3
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	6.7	5.2	8.8	11.4	9.1	14.9
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	0.0	2.6	2.2	0.0	1.3	1.3
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (130)	100.0 (159)	100.0 (216)	100.0 (199)	100.0 (156)	100.0 (261)

Chi square = 66.63 with 56 degrees of freedom. Significance 0.0239 least likely to be in this group (29.8%). There is a fairly clear positive relationship between professional age and membership in Cluster 3 which again reflects experience as an important factor in getting better shows. A slight negative relationship between professional age and Cluster 4 suggests that less experienced artists are more likely to use cooperative or alternative spaces to exhibit their work. Similar slight, but recognizable, regular patterns occur for all clusters. Generally, the distributions follow a pattern which suggests that greater experience leads to more shows in more traditional spaces.*

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Gender

As in our earlier examination of income by gender, women fall somewhat behind men in the level of their exhibitions (Table 14, Appendix E). About a quarter (24.9%) of the male artists appear in the 0 - 10 category, while 39.5 percent of the female artists are in this group. At the upper end of the scale the difference is smaller, 13.0% of the men have a score of 41 or more to 9.3% of the women, suggesting that while some women can be very successful, more are likely to be unsuccessful. This outcome may be partially explained by the well known historical development of women professional artists. It is only in the last two decades that women have begun to move in great numbers into the artist profession. Thus, one element in their lower success rate may be experience. Our data provide only minimal support to the argument that professional age interacts with gender to affect exhibition record. Table 15, Appendix E, shows that women are slightly underrepresented in the category with most professional experience and substantially underrepresented in the 11-15 years of experience category, 57.4% men to 42.6% women (the expected percentages are 48.2% men and 51.8% women reflecting the sample split). These results suggest that lack of experience is one factor explaining why women are somewhat less successful in exhibiting. However, the experience factor does not appear strong enough to explain all of the differences. Exhibitors interviewed as part of this study all claimed that gender was not a factor in selection. However, many female and some male artists felt that gender played an important role in the accessibility of many spaces to women.*

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*The most notable exception is Cluster 5 where the inverted-U distribution with the highest proportion in the 16-20 year group and the lowest at the extremes, suggests no intuitively obvious explanation.

Gender is also related to exposure pattern, both because these patterns are partially resultant from level of exposure and because there are some differences in the types of spaces in which men and women exhibit. Table 5.8 shows these differences. Women are somewhat more likely (37.5% to 31.7%) to appear in the low exhibits group than men. This was expected on the basis of the WER results. However, women are not less likely to appear in clusters 2, 3, and 8 which represent higher levels of exhibition. Men are more likely to exhibit in one person and small group shows in public spaces (Cluster 5) and are likely to appear in Cluster 9, representing small group museum and one-person or small group private gallery shows. These results suggest that men have some advantage in more prestigious types of shows, but only in situations where the particular type of show, one person or small group in private galleries or public spaces, constitutes

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*Some suggested that sex played a role as well.

TABLE 5.8. Exposure Pattern by Gender*

EXPOSURE CLUSTER	MALE %	FEMALE %
1. Low Exhibitions	31.7	37.5
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	12.6	13.8
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	5.6	6.3
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	2.7	8.7
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	10.3	4.4
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	2.8	3.9
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	18.8	16.4
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	1.6	1.0
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	12.3	7.0
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	1.7	1.1
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (556)	100.0 (587)

Chi Square = 46.41666 with 9 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

the major exhibition constituent of the cluster (as opposed to groups 2 or 3 which have as many women as men). It is not immediately evident why this pattern (in Clusters 5 and 9) should prevail.

Women are dominant in only one Cluster, 4, whose artists are most likely to have exhibited in large group cooperative or alternative space shows. We interpret this result to demonstrate the predominance of women in artist cooperatives.* There are a number of possible reasons for this pattern. Among the more likely are: (1) that women are less likely to be accepted elsewhere (the argument of many female artists with whom we talked); and (2) that women, particularly those with high external support, are more likely to have the resources to devote to a time demanding cooperative mode of exhibit.

Race

There is no statistically significant relationship between race and weighted exhibition record (Table 16, Appendix E). The minority artists in our sample had essentially the same exhibition experience as non minority artists. However, there are some interesting differences in the cluster patterns (Table 5.9). Most clusters have minority/non-minority distributions which are fairly close to the overall sample distribution. The major exceptions are:

(1) Cluster 4 has a much smaller than expected proportion of minority artists who have exhibited mainly in cooperatives or alternative spaces.

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*Since only a small proportion of total shows are held in alternative spaces.

TABLE 5.9. Exposure Pattern by Race*

EXPOSURE CLUSTER	Non-White	White	Row Total % (N)
1. Low Exhibitions	9.7	90.3	100.0 (399)
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	12.8	87.2	100.0 (151)
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	12.0	88.0	100.0 (67)
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	1.9	98.1	100.0 (67)
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	9.8	90.2	100.0 (82)
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	3.4	96.6	100.0 (38)
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	7.4	92.5	100.0 (207)
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	8.8	92.5	100.0 (15)
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	14.9	85.1	100.0 (111)
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	0.0	100.0	100.0 (14)

Chi Square = 14.879 with 9 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.943

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

(2) Cluster 6 has a smaller than expected proportion of minority artists who have had large group shows in "other" spaces.

The former results suggests that minority artists are less likely to form or be involved in cooperative galleries. Our data, which show relatively equal exhibition histories and art incomes, do not suggest obvious economic or artistic factors.

The general lack of difference in exhibition pattern or weighted record does not, however, mean that important differences between minorities and non minorities do not exist. On this issue some exhibitors commented that clearly "Black" or "Mexican" styles or subjects have different clientele and, insofar as their clients (particularly in private galleries) were not interested in these styles, they were reluctant to accept such works. Our indicators of exhibition record or pattern do not indicate whether a show was in a space (of whatever type) oriented toward these styles. Nor do they indicate if the particular artist worked in a style with recognizable ethnic or racial characteristics. Thus, many minority artists could have achieved their exhibition records in "minority galleries", or spaces specifically oriented to show them, such as the Mexican museum or the Black American Historical Museum in San Francisco, or in special events designed to showcase "minority" art. Such "separate but equal" exhibition patterns serve to highlight the problems of minority artists in reaching equal status in the larger exhibition system. Still another factor is the style of the artists. Those minority artists who work in traditional "majority" styles may be more likely to be successful and appear in our sample. Thus the minority artists may not be representative (in style) of other, less successful, minority artists.

Art Education

At the extremes, a higher level of art education is generally indicative of a more advanced exhibition record (Table 5.10). Artists with MFA's are most

TABLE 5.10. Weighted Exhibition Record by Art Education*

NUMBER OF SHOWS WEIGHTED EXHIBITIONS	ART EDUCATION MFA %	BFA BA, MA Art Ed %	SOME FORMAL ART CLASSES %	SELF-TRAINED %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	13.5	32.3	37.3	38.1	28.1
11 - 20	26.3	31.9	24.0	24.9	27.3
21 - 30	25.8	15.9	21.3	19.3	20.9
31 - 40	18.5	12.5	9.3	1.6	12.7
41 Up	16.0	7.4	8.2	16.2	11.0
COLUMN TOTAL					
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(374)	(366)	(341)	(83)	(1164)

Chi Square = 95.377 with 12 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.00

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

likely to have a score over 30.* In the middle educational levels, the pattern is not consistent. Self-trained artists, on the other hand, are likely to have a lower score.

The analysis of cluster membership by art education produces less satisfying results (Table 5.11). While artists with MFAs are much less likely to appear in the first (low exhibition cluster), 25.2% to the next closest group which is 35.5%, the difference in other clusters which provide qualitative differences in exhibition record are much smaller (see Clusters 2 and 3). In addition, the differences among the other three education levels are very irregular. Thus, it appears to be a slight advantage for an artist to have a Master of Fine Arts degree, but it is certainly not impossible to succeed without one. Furthermore, if an artist does not have an MFA, it may be best to be self taught.

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*The major exception is self-trained artists with a score over 40 (16.2%) who present a very noticable break in the general pattern.

TABLE 5.11. Art Education by Exposure Patterns*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	ART EDUCATION MFA/MA	BFA, BA MA ART EDUC	ART CLASSES	SELF-TAUGHT
1. **Low Exhibitions**	25.2	42.5	35.5	42.9
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	17.0	10.4	11.7	11.5
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	8.3	3.6	5.6	6.2
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	5.8	3.0	8.3	7.1
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	9.8	7.0	5.1	7.4
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	1.0	4.0	5.5	1.2
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	19.6	16.5	20.2	8.0
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	2.0	1.0	0.3	3.0
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	11.5	9.5	6.5	11.2
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	.3	2.5	1.3	1.2
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	 32.2 (374)	 31.5 (366)	 29.3 (341)	 7.1 (83)

Chi square = 32.262 with 27 degrees of freedeom. Significance = 0.000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

EXHIBITION PATTERN, SELECTION AND SALES

In this section we begin to expand our examination of factors which may be related to exhibition pattern by analyzing how the artists were selected to show their work and how they sell their work. The former factor is measured by the method of selection for the most recent show in which the artist participated prior to the survey. While this indicator does not necessarily characterize each artist's dominant selection mode, it does provide a reasonable approximation for the aggregated sample.* The sale of work is divided into three general categories, through a dealer or agent, by the artist, or through other means. In the survey method of sales covered all works sold during the 1978 calendar year.

Method of Selection

For the purpose of this analysis, we have defined three general methods of selection:

1. The first is an open method in which the artist initiates the process. Included in this category are entering juried competitions or nonjuried shows, becoming a member of a cooperative (where shows are guaranteed), arranging an exhibit at a nontraditional space (e.g., a bank, library or restaurant), arranging a show in a commercial gallery (in which the artist is not a member of the gallery's "stable" and also initiates the contact, e.g., going from gallery to gallery with a portfolio), and paying for (renting) the space to have a show. Our hypothesis is that these modes of selection will occur more frequently among less experienced or less successful artists.

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*Because it was not feasible to ask artists to indicate how they were selected for each show in which they participated, the most recent show was chosen as a reasonable substitute. This indicator may be inaccurate as the typical mode for an individual artist, but in the aggregate it should provide a close approximation of the general selection distribution for the sample.

2. The second method is by invitation and is less open because it is initiated by the exhibitor. Gallery owners may invite shows of particular artists and so may museum curators. The invitation may be on the basis of quality and/or experience. The invitational mode assumes a generally higher level of experience than the open selection procedures.

3. The third general method is through an agreement with an exhibitor (dealer) for regular shows. This method includes those artists who are part of a gallery "stable." Agreements are less open than the first method, but not necessarily less open than invitations. The difference between invitations and agreements lies primarily in the stability of the latter method. Our empirical analysis examines differences across weighted exhibition record and exhibition cluster.

The distribution of the methods of selection for the artists' most recent show is presented in the column totals for Table 5.12. Slightly over 10% of the sample artists have agreements with galleries or dealers. About equal proportions had their last show by invitation (43.5%) or through open competition (46.1%). Thus, the great majority of artists do not operate in a guaranteed position.*

The relationship between selection mode and weighted exhibition record is presented in Table 5.12, also. As hypothesized, those artists with lower weighted exhibition scores are more likely to have been selected through some type of open competition. The proportion in the open category diminishes from 68.0 percent among artists with a score of 10 or less to 28.6 percent for those with a score of 41 or more. The distribution is reversed for the invitation method of selection. For artists whose last show was through an agreement, the pattern is much weaker. Both this result and the fact that a substantial proportion of the artists in each exhibition group do not conform to the hypothesized pattern

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*As we shall see later this stability is reflected in higher art income also.

TABLE 5.12. Mode of Selection by Weighted Exhibition Record*

WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD	MODE OF SELECTION			TOTAL
	Agreement With Galleries	Invitation	Open Shows	
	%	%	%	% (N)
0 - 10	6.3	25.6	68.0	100.0 (208)
11 - 20	12.7	43.0	44.3	100.0 (262)
21 - 30	11.6	48.1	40.3	100.0 (196)
31 - 40	5.9	55.6	38.5	100.0 (128)
41 - Up	15.2	56.1	28.6	100.0 (113)
COLUMN TOTAL	10.4	43.5	46.1	100.0 (907)

Chi Square = 67.06839 with 8 degrees of freedom
Sngnificance = 0.000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

may be explained by a variety of factors, not the least of which is that the selection categories encompass a variety of types of exhibits and artists. The general trend, however, confirms the relationship between experience and more stable exhibition opportunities. It also suggests that greater experience (as measured by weighted exhibition record) is an important factor in achieving success with the more closed exhibition opportunities.

Table 5.13 presents method of selection against exposure cluster. For those clusters which reflect experience level (1, 2, 3, 8 and 9), the pattern is similar to weighted exhibition record, i.e., those artists with more experience (more and higher level exhibitions) are more likely to have entered their most recent show via one of the more closed methods. (Compare clusters 1 and 2 to clusters 3, 8 and 9.)

Other results also conform to expectations. For example, over three-fourths of those artists whose exhibitions are primarily large group shows in cooperatives and alternative spaces (cluster 4) or "other" spaces (cluster 6), entered their last show through one of the "open" methods. That focus shifts to invitational modes (53.9%) where the artists have a history of one-person or small group shows in cooperative or alternative spaces (cluster 5). Those artists whose exhibition history was primarily in large group museums, public or private gallery shows are also more likely (52.9%) to have received an invitation to their most recent show (cluster 7). Thus, it is not just how many were in the show, but where it was held that is related to selection mode.

Selection mode was compared to art form to determine if the economic patterns were reflected in selection patterns within types of artists. Table 5.14 presents these results. There are some extremely varied and interesting results in this table. In our sample, among those artists working in new forms and multiple visual forms, none had a regular gallery or dealer agreement. Among

TABLE 5.13. Method of Selection by Exposure Cluster*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	MODE OF SELECTION			TOTAL
	Agreement With %	Invitation %	Open Shows %	(N) %
1. Low Exhibitions	7.2	40.7	52.1	100.0 (264)
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	7.9	50.4	41.7	100.0 (129)
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	19.2	35.3	45.5	100.0 (60)
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	12.2	6.6	81.1	100.0 (60)
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	7.6	53.9	38.5	100.0 (70)
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	0.0	24.5	75.5	100.0 (30)
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	5.6	52.9	41.5	100.0 (174)
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	25.3	55.4	19.3	100.0 (12)
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	28.6	51.7	19.7	100.0 (92)
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	8.7	36.9	54.4	100.0 (15)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	10.4	44.5	45.1	100.0 (907)

Chi Square = 120.97716 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5.14. Method of Selection by Art Form*

ART FORM	MODE OF SELECTION			
	Agreement With Gallery Dealer %	Invitation %	Enter Nonjuried Shows; Competitions; Gallery Members %	ROW TOTAL (N)
Painting	12.5	36.7	50.8	100.0 (297)
Sculpture	7.3	45.7	47.0	100.0 (112)
Printmaking	12.6	41.6	45.8	100.0 (63)
Drawing	6.9	38.1	54.9	100.0 (40)
Photography	6.5	60.0	33.5	100.0 (95)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	0.0	71.3	28.7	100.0 (26)
Crafts	4.4	42.4	53.2	100.0 (52)
Multiple Visual Forms	0.0	39.4	60.6	100.0 (23)
Other Art Forms	15.4	44.2	40.4	100.0 (191)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	10.4	43.7	45.9	100.0 (900)

Chi Square = 40.36 with 16 degrees of freedom. Significance = .0007.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

new forms' artists, over 70 percent were invited to their most recent show. This pattern is similar for photographers' 6.5 percent agreements and 60 percent invitation, and reflects the small number of spaces which show this type of art on a regular basis. In contrast, painters and printers had over 12 percent with agreements, but much lower percentages, 36.7 percent and 41.6 percent, respectively, who were invited to exhibit. This pattern is much closer to the overall distribution of selection mode and probably reflects the wide experience distributions in these groups.

Craft artists, who are also unlikely to have a gallery agreement (4.4%), are somewhat more likely to enter open competition (53.2%) for their shows. Drawers have a similar pattern (6.9% and 54.9%), although probably for a different reason. There are very few crafts galleries which maintain a stable of artists;* while many galleries show drawings, the apparent lack of popularity of drawing means that few artists can obtain a regular agreement.

The specialization of galleries may account for many of the observed differences. Cooperative galleries and competitive shows are likely to be more eclectic in what they show; thus, artists of all types have access. Private galleries are more specialized and most of them focus on paintings and/or prints, thus making it more likely that artists using these forms will have agreements. "New" art forms, e.g., environmental art, performance and installations, often do not lend themselves to space available in private galleries, which also makes an agreement less likely. These special physical characteristics also make invitation more likely since competitive shows often have physical limitations.

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*Since our sampling procedure deliberately excluded "craft" galleries, these results may be biased because noncraft galleries are less likely to have agreements with craft artists. However, the organization of craft galleries generally does not make "agreements" a likely mode of selection.

In Chapter 6 we will discuss how the artists attempt to overcome these limitations in their own efforts to have their work exhibited. We turn now to the relationship of methods used to sell work and exposure patterns.

Sales Method

Another factor in our composite description of artists and their socio-economic environment is the sale of art works, particularly the mechanism used to sell. We have distinguished three basic ways to sell art: (1) through a dealer or agent; (2) direct sales by the artist; and (3) by a collection of other means, including commissions, through a collective, an unofficial agent (such as a friend), etc.* In the questionnaire, artists were asked to indicate the number of works they sold through each mechanism during 1978. The distribution of answers to that question is presented in Table 5.15. The major relevant outcomes from this table concern the proportion of works sold through each mechanism. Individual sales are the most common mechanism when few (less than 10) works are sold. For 10 or more works, selling through a dealer is equally as important. Thus, those artists who are more successful in selling are equally as likely to do so through a dealer as on their own. The use of other mechanisms is less important, no matter how many works are sold, but particularly as the number of sold works increases. This suggest that artists selling through cooperatives and by commissions are likely to sell only a few pieces, while those who sell many pieces do so through direct sales** or through an agent.

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*These techniques are grouped together because they account for only a small share of total sales.

**Table 5.15 includes only the number of pieces sold and not their value. We may hypothesize that artists working in craft-related areas are more likely to have a large number of direct sales, while artists working in other art forms may be more likely to have a large number of sales through an agent. Unfortunately, the small number of craft artists in our sample does not permit an adequate statistical test of this hypothesis.

TABLE 5.15. Sales Mechanism by Number of Works Sold For Each City*

SALES MECHANISM	1 to 3 Works				4 to 9 Works				10 to 20 Works				21 Works or More			
	DC %	SF %	MN %	H %	DC %	SF %	MN %	H %	DC %	SF %	MN %	H %	DC %	SF %	MN %	H %
Through a Dealer	17.7	14.2	12.3	16.9	12.4	13.8	10.2	10.8	7.5	11.0	6.1	8.2	6.2	9.7	4.5	7.7
Self	27.9	22.1	24.6	27.2	15.0	14.5	15.4	17.9	7.3	11.4	10.9	13.8	7.3	9.1	13.3	5.6
By Other Means	10.1	7.1	8.9	6.7	4.0	1.7	1.7	1.5	2.5	1.3	1.4	1.0	3.7	1.8	1.4	2.1

Total Percent Who Sold Works By Each Mechanism

	DC %	SF %	MN %	H %
Through a Dealer	43.8	48.7	33.1	43.6
Self	57.5	57.1	64.2	64.5
By Other Means	20.3	11.9	13.4	11.3

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*Figures equal the proportion of artists who sold that number of works by that particular mechanism. One hundred percent equals the sum across the number of works categories for each city, plus 100, minus that sum.

There are differences across cities, but they are largely the reflection of absolute differences in the volume of sales. Washington, DC, and Minneapolis artists, for example, are less likely to sell a larger number (more than 10) of works through dealers. Aggregate sales by city are presented at the bottom of Table 5.15. These results show that Minneapolis artists are least likely to sell through a dealer (33.1 percent of the artists compared to 43.6 percent for the next lowest city, Houston). The proportions who sold works themselves are relatively equal across all four cities (57.5%, 57.1%, 64.2% and 64.6%). Washington, DC, artists, on the other hand, are most likely to have sold works through "other" means (20.3 percent of the artists had this type of sale, while 13.4 percent of the Houston artists used this technique).

The distribution of sales methods across cities is reflected in the use of sales representatives also. Fifty-four point two percent of the San Francisco artists had one or more sales representatives, compared to 50 percent in Houston, 40.9 percent in Washington, DC, and 36.2 percent in Minneapolis. These figures reflect several of the earlier results which showed Washington, DC, and Minneapolis artists behind the other cities with regard to the exposure and commercial success of their work.* The mechanisms which seem to provide greater success to artists with agents include: (1) the access of agent spaces to buyers; (2) the business expertise of agents is generally greater than that of artists; (3) agents relieve artists of the need to spend (so much) time selling, thus freeing time for work; and (4) the structure of the art market can enhance the perceived quality of the work because of its appearance in recognized art spaces. Buyers, especially those who buy art as an investment, are also more likely to look to galleries or agents with established reputations. Having access to and use of such intermediaries seems more prevalent in San Francisco and Houston (in terms of exhibitions and sales) than in Washington, DC, and Minneapolis.* Another empirical demonstration of the association between having some kind of agent and "success" is presented in Table 5.16, which shows the relationship of having an agent to weighted exhibition record. As the number of weighted shows increases, the proportion of artists without an agent decreases. Among artists with two or more agents, the converse is true.

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*This pattern is not reflected in the area of commissioning. Houston artists are most likely to have received a commission (55.7%), but Minneapolis artists are second (50%) and Washington, DC, and San Francisco artists are very close with 42.7 percent and 41.8 percent, respectively. Table 17, Appendix E.

Despite the repeated significant associations between having an agent and various indicators of artistic success, the data do not establish a non-reversible causal relationship. It is possible to argue that having an agent leads to greater sales success, but this omits any discussion of how to get such an agent (usually a gallery dealer). Nor are artists without agents doomed to be unsuccessful. As Table 5.16 reveals, a substantial proportion (about 36%) of those artists with a weighted exhibition record of 31 or more did not have agents. Unfortunately, our data do not permit a further specification of the type of shows which are associated with having an agent, so it is not possible to define the quality of exhibition history for those high-score artists with and without an agent.

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*Although our investigation of the exhibition potential in each of the cities does not suggest that Houston artists should have such an advantage since there are relatively few well-established galleries in that city.

TABLE 5.16. Sales Representation by Weighted Exhibition Record*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	SALES REPRESENTATIVES More than One %	One %	None %	Row Total %
0 - 10	12.1	13.8	74.0	27.9
11 - 20	20.8	24.9	54.3	27.3
21 - 30	21.1	27.3	51.2	21.1
31 - 40	33.1	27.3	38.9	12.6
41 +	42.3	25.6	32.1	11.0
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (261)	100.0 (264)	100.0 (637)	100.0 (1162)

Chi Square = 107.77515 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.00

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

In one extension of this analysis, it was determined that about half of the artists with agents were represented outside their immediate locality (i.e., regionally, nationally or internationally).* This helps to explain why many artists claimed two or more agents. The relationship between weighted exhibition record and having local and/or nonlocal agents is shown in Table 18, Appendix E. While there is a slight tendency for high-score artists to have a higher probability of regional, national or international representation, there is no steady trend across all groups showing an increase in such representation, and the overall relationship is not different than would have been expected by chance.

Table 5.17 reflects a similar agent-by-exhibition-experience pattern, this time measured across exposure clusters. Artists with low exhibition experience, e.g., cluster 1, with experience in group shows in cooperatives (cluster 4), or with most experience in "other" spaces (clusters 6 and 10), are less likely to have agents. As the level of experience improves, as between clusters 2, 3 and 9, the probability of having an agent increases.** Interestingly, for those artists with higher experience levels and significant experience in alternative spaces (cluster 8), the probability of having an agent is similar to that of lower-experience artists. This may reflect a somewhat different path to exhibition (commercial galleries) success or a rejection of the more traditional approaches to exhibiting and selling.

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*The proportion represented beyond local agents was approximately equal in all cities except San Francisco, 60 percent of whose represented artists had agents outside the local area.

**Attempts to exhibit outside a local area follow a similar pattern. Those artists with greater success are more likely to have tried to exhibit outside their local area. Those artists with limited exhibition experience or whose experience is more likely to have been with cooperatives or other spaces are less likely (Table 19, Appendix E). Again, however, our cross-sectional data do not permit us to determine if success or ventures into other areas came first.

TABLE 5.17. Number of Sales Representatives by Exposure Patterns*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	More than One %	One %	None %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. **Low Exhibitions**	13.4	15.1	71.2	100.0 (404)
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	29.8	32.2	38.0	100.0 (151)
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	43.4	27.1	29.5	100.0 (68)
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	14.9	28.0	57.1	100.0 (67)
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	19.3	23.3	57.3	100.0 (85)
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	3.9	20.5	75.6	100.0 (38)
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	24.8	21.3	53.8	100.0 (206)
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	29.3	15.6	55.1	100.0 (15)
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	41.9	33.2	19.0	100.0 (111)
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	6.3	0.0	93.7	100.0 (16)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	22.4	22.7	54.7	100.0 (1162)

Chi Square = 169.13341 with 27 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.00

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[*] Totals based on a weighted sample.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, WORKING CONDITIONS AND PATTERN OF EXHIBITION

In this section, we examine the same economic (income and expenditures) and working (studio space and time use) conditions described in Chapter 4, except that our previous analysis is expanded to include the relationship of these conditions to exhibition pattern (weighted exhibition record and exhibition cluster). This analysis will characterize in greater detail the groups of artists currently working in the four cities.

Exhibition Pattern and Income

Table 5.18 shows the clear association between income and weighted exhibition record: as the level of exposure increases, so does art-generated income. Generally, artists must expose their work in order to sell it. While this relationship was very regular, it was not strong enough (the contingency coefficient for this table is .39) to ignore the impact of other factors. For example, over a third of the artists with a weighted record of 31 or more earned $1,000 or less for their art during 1978. About 14 percent (one in 7) earned no art income. Some of these artists may have had museum shows, which are weighted heavily in this index. Others may have had commercial shows which were unsuccessful for sales. At the other end of the spectrum are artists who did sell well, but have a low exhibition score. These artists may be assumed to be selling work on their own, based on personal reputation or other techniques which do not show up in our index.* Thus, earning money from art is related to the volume and prestige of exhibition records, but it is not the only or even the dominating factor.

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*The three-year time limit in reviewing exhibition records may also reduce the scores of some well-exhibited artists who had been showing less in years covered by the survey, but who still are able to sell their work.

TABLE 5.18. Art Income by Weighted Exhibition Record*

NUMBER OF SHOWS	ART INCOME None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
0-10	43.0	21.1	12.4	8.6	6.0	5.5	3.4	100.0 (327)
11-20	24.1	22.3	15.0	14.2	11.8	7.7	4.8	100.0 (322)
21-30	19.3	17.8	15.5	13.1	12.1	11.2	11.0	100.0 (246)
31-40	15.4	9.6	15.9	12.7	17.5	14.0	14.9	100.0 (148)
41-up	13.2	9.4	13.1	9.7	19.7	18.1	16.9	100.0 (128)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	26.1	18.0	14.3	11.7	11.8	9.8	8.3	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 153.98901 with 24 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

In Table 5.19, we examine art income across exhibition patterns. In those clusters which imply a level of exhibition, clusters 1, 2, 3 and 8, the association between higher income and higher exhibit level is repeated. Almost three-fourths of cluster 1 artists (with few exhibitions of any type) earned less than $1,000 for their art in 1978. This is the strongest outcome yet, which suggests that artists must show their work to earn money from it. In contrast, 47.8 percent of cluster 3 and 53.1 percent of cluster 8 (the most heavily and widely exhibited groups) earned $2,000 or more. In other clusters, we are able to gain some new insights about the economic "meaning" of an exhibition pattern. For example, artists who tend to exhibit in large group shows in cooperatives or alternative spaces (cluster 4) tend to earn much less from their art. In fact, this group earns less, on the average, than artists with many fewer shows, who tend to exhibit in large group shows in museums, public spaces or commercial galleries (cluster 7). This suggests that the traditional exhibition pattern (commercial galleries and museums), even at the level of large group shows, has more positive economic outcomes than the cooperative/alternative space alternatives. Public gallery artists (cluster 5), even when they participate in one-person small group shows, tend to be near the bottom of the art income scale. Compare cluster 5 to cluster 9, where the number and type of exhibition is similar but the location, public space versus commercial gallery, differs. Those with the commercial experience are much more likely to appear in higher art income categories.

While income is not the only form of reward artists receive, it is one important indication of their achievement. The results of this table suggest: (1) that some form of exhibition is extremely beneficial to selling significant amounts of art; (2) that more exhibition is likely to lead to more (in dollar) sales; and (3) that shows in more traditional spaces (commercial galleries

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TABLE 5.19. Art Income by Exposure Patterns*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	ART INCOME None %	$1-500 %	$501-1000 %	$1001-2000 %	$2001-4000 %	$4001-10,000 %	$10001 Up %	Row Total % (N)
1. Low Exhibitions	38.6	21.9	15.4	8.7	6.9	4.7	3.8	100.0 (409)
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	22.2	12.3	14.0	11.7	15.1	16.1	8.6	100.0 (151)
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	14.9	12.2	12.1	13.8	18.4	13.5	14.9	100.0 (63)
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	11.2	25.7	19.9	24.2	7.6	9.1	2.2	100.0 (67)
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	26.5	21.7	14.6	9.1	16.5	8.6	2.9	100.0 (85)
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	16.6	17.1	6.7	12.7	22.4	10.6	13.8	100.0 (38)
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	22.1	20.0	10.9	13.5	12.0	10.7	10.9	100.0 (208)
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	8.8	0.0	22.4	15.6	0.0	13.6	39.5	100.0 (15)
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	15.5	8.4	14.0	11.3	17.2	15.4	18.3	100.0 (112)
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	18.9	8.2	28.3	16.3	15.7	12.6	0.0	100.0 (16)
COLUMN TOTAL %	26.1	18.0	14.3	11.7	11.8	9.8	8.3	100.0 (1172)

Chi square = 185.94949 with 54 degrees of freedom. Significance - 0.0000 and museums) will probably lead to greater economic success than shows in non-traditional spaces (cooperatives and alternative spaces). However, the hierarchy implied by these results does not necessarily reflect the attitudes of artists and other recognized art experts about the "importance" of the various types of exhibition spaces. What sells is not always what many people think is good. Any eventual confluence of economic, exhibition and other types of artistic success (recognition) are, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

The relationship between total income and WER follows the same pattern as art income; artists with a higher exhibition score are more likely to have a higher total income (Table 20, Appendix E). However, because of the difference in the sources of art income and total income, the pattern is not linear and not as strong. For the lowest income group (less than $3,000 in 1978), the pattern is clear. More than 4 in 10 of the artists with an exhibition score of 10 or less earn less than $3,000. About 3.5 in 10 of those with a score of 11-20 are in this group. A little less than 2.5 in 10 of those with a score of 21-30 are in this group and slightly less than 2.5 in 10 of those with scores of 31-40 are in the lowest group. Finally, about 1.5 in 10 of those with the highest scores, 41 or more, are in the lowest income group. In other income categories, the pattern is less distinct, demonstrating the impact of other means of support and their independence from exhibition success.

In Table 21, Appendix E, total income is compared to exhibition cluster membership. In this analysis, the pattern of positive association between income and level of exhibition breaks down.* For example, there is essentially no difference in the distribution of income among the first three clusters, despite a substantial difference in exhibition success in these clusters. On the other hand, cluster 8 artists have the greatest overall exhibition success, and the highest average income (although these results are based on a very small N). The implication of this table, as it was in Table 20, is that outside income largely dilutes any association between art income and exhibition record, i.e., we are unable to predict total income from exhibition record.

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*The highly significant chi square for this table is due largely to the large number of cells and tells us little about the nature of the pattern.

Exhibition Pattern and Expenditures

In Chapter 4, we saw that the level of expenditures (production costs) was related to the level of art income. Earlier in this chapter, we showed how exhibition record was related to art income. Thus, it is not surprising to find that as the weighted exhibition level increases, so do production costs (Table 22, Appendix E). This association is stronger (contingency coefficient equal .405) than either of the referenced relationships and it suggests an interesting three-way relationship between effort, costs and exhibition success. Those artists who show less do not seem to put forth much effort (as measured by production cost) as those who show more. Part of the difference may be the result of having less money and/or time to devote to their art. Part may be lack of interest. Still another explanation is the lack of positive feedback, in the form of recognition or money, for earlier efforts, i.e., those who are successful at exhibiting or selling are likely to do more. As with all of the relationships discussed in this study, the level of association is only moderate. There are exceptions who have high production costs and a low weighted exhibition record (indicating substantial effort but little success) and those who have low costs and high success. We expect the latter group to include primarily well-known artists whose work is in high demand.

Similar results can be observed in Table 23, Appendix E, which shows the relationship between production costs and exhibition cluster membership. Clusters with a lower number of exhibitions,e.g., cluster 1, tend to have lower production costs. Those with more exhibitions tend to have higher costs, e.g., clusters 3 and 8. There is, however, a large intermediate group for whom it is very difficult to predict production costs. Artists in clusters 5 (one-person and small group shows in public spaces) and 6 (large group shows in traditional, cooperative or "other" spaces) have similar expenditure patterns, but a substantially different number of shows. A partial explanation for this outcome is the fact that one-person or small group shows usually involve more individual pieces than large group shows. Thus, the relationship between the production cost and number of works produced for shows persists. Those artists less likely to show their work are also less likely to produce as much (spend as much money on production).

Exhibition Pattern and Working Conditions

Working Space

More than two-thirds (68.1%) of the artists with no studio space have a weighted exhibition record of 10 or less (Table 24, Appendix E). As weighted exhibition record increases, the likelihood of having space at home decreases. Exhibition success is to some degree associated with the location of studio space. Artists with greater exhibition success are much more likely to have a studio space and that space is more likely to be outside their own home. Our data do not tell us, however, whether success or outside space came first. It seems likely that they are interactive. A moderate success may make outside space affordable, although outside space is clearly not the only route to success.*

Level of Effort

In Chapter 4, we showed that artists spend a substantial amount of time at various phases of their art work, including producing, experimenting, preparing for exhibits, selling, discussing art, etc. Success, however, is not always a function of current effort or interest. Sometimes previous success is sufficient to carry the artists to continued success. In other instances, the level of effort is contingent on achieving enough success to generate the funds and time to devote to art activities. In this section, we examine the relationship between time utilization and exhibition patterns as measured by the WER and exhibition clusters.**

Table 5.20 shows weighted exhibition records in terms of the amount of time spent on art activities. There is a weak but statistically significant positive association between weighted exhibition record and time spent on art activities, i.e., artists who are more successful are likely to spend more time on art activities. For example, 45.5 percent of those who spend up to 10 hours on art activities are in the lowest exhibition category, while only 6.7 percent and 8.8 percent of this group are in the two highest exhibition categories. There is an interesting balance, however, in the high effort categories. For artists who spend 31 - 40 hours and

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*There is no strong relationship between the type of studio (rented, shared, owned, etc.) and level of success as measured in our data.

**The basic distribution of time across six art activities is shown in Table 25, Appendix E. The distribution of nonprimary "other" activities is shown in Table 26, Appendix E. Table 25 shows that producing and experimenting are the primary art activities. Selling art is the activity to which the least time is devoted (less that one percent devote "most time" to selling).

TABLE 5.20. Weighted Exhibition Record by Art Activities Time*

	NUMBER OF HOURS					
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF SHOWS	0 - 10 %	11 - 20 %	21 - 30 %	31 - 40 %	41 UP %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	45.8	28.4	24.8	18.6	18.0	27.9
11 - 20	24.7	33.1	34.3	21.4	19.8	27.4
21 - 30	18.9	13.3	20.1	24.8	23.4	21.0
31 - 40	6.7	12.1	10.1	15.0	21.1	12.7
41 - Up	3.8	7.1	10.7	20.1	17.1	11.0
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (234)	100.0 (304)	100.0 (223)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (212)	100.0 (1141)

Chi square = 114.34665 with 16 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

over 41 hours per week on their art work, there is little difference across exhibition groups. This suggests a nonsymetric relationship in which an artist must work hard to be successful, but working hard does not guarantee success.[*] The major intangibles are, of course, quality and the process of getting works exhibited (which is the subject of our discussion in Chapter 6).[**]

Tables 28 - 31, Appendix F, present the distribution of different types of art activity - producing work for show, experimenting, selling, and preparing works to be shown (framing, hanging shows) - for each WER/category. As in the previous tables, we find somewhat more emphasis on production among artists with a higher exhibition level (Table 28), although the difference is not as pronounced (the contingency coefficient is only .203). Clearly, artists who do not show are more likely to spend little or no time in show-oriented production

With regard to experimentation time, however, there is much less difference (Table 29). About half of all WER groups indicate that they spend "some time" experimenting. Artists in the two highest exhibition categories (with a score of 31 or more) are relatively more likely to say they spend most time exhibiting. This suggests that trying new ideas is important to exhibition success. Some exhibitors told us that the "development" of an artist is an important part of their evaluation of the artists' work. Those who do not show evolution in their work would be less likely to "succeed" given this criterion. Thus, the successful artist spends relatively more time in this area.[*]

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[*] A similar pattern of time usage for the number of hours spent in studio in an average week, but it is somewhat weaker (Table 27, Appendix E). Artists who spend up to 10 hours in their studios are more likely to have a low-weighted exhibition level than a high-level. Spending more time, however, is not necessarily indicative of greater exhibition success. Thus, when measured in terms of actual time spent, the exclusion of non-production activities does not increase our ability to predict exhibition success.

[**] Factors such as artistic experience, interest in exhibiting, etc., are aspects of this relationship, also, but they seem to play a smaller role.

While very few artists spent most time trying to sell their art, an examination of the proportion who spent no time in this activity shows that successful artists are relatively more likely to put at least some effort into selling (Table 30). The successful exhibition of art requires production, experimentation, and some individual effort to get works exhibited.[**]

Finally, artists with higher exhibition levels are more likely to spend at least some time on the preparation of their works for show (Table 31). This is certainly expected and the only interesting issue arising from this table is that artists who are not showing very much are spending as much time on these activities as they do. It seems likely that a substantial effort is made in anticipation of shows which never occur.

Time utilization was examined across exhibition patterns (clusters) also. To some degree, the results of this analysis extend the basic results of the analyses of WER. In Table 5.21, for example, we see that the group with the highest proportion (50.8%) spending most time experimenting are the artists most likely to have been exhibited (cluster 8). However, this is a small group and other

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[*] Caution should be exercised in making this interpretation. Our question on experimentation could not provide for both thorough definition and efficient surveys. Some artists may "experiment" as they are producing their current work, making slight rather than radical changes. We have no knowledge of which type of "experimentation" was perceived by the artists responding to the question. We assume that the distribution of other interpretations was random across the weighted exhibition levels.

[**] As the data show, some artists can be highly successful without any apparent "selling" effort. These artists are probably able to rely on previous success and prior agreements to continue a successful exhibition schedule. They may have been invited to exhibit and/or they may have ongoing arrangements with private galleries. We will return to this point when we examine exhibition clusters.

TABLE 5.21. Exhibition Pattern by Time Spent Experimenting*

EXHIBITION CLUSTER	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	 Some Time %	 Little Time %	 No Time %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. Low Exhibitions	28.1	49.2	15.4	7.4	100.0 (386)
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	30.7	50.6	18.7	0.0	100.0 (149)
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	15.7	62.3	19.7	2.2	100.0 (67)
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	26.7	58.0	13.3	2.0	100.0 (66)
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	28.8	48.9	21.1	1.2	100.0 (84)
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	26.1	56.7	13.6	3.6	100.0 (36)
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	30.0	46.5	22.2	1.3	100.0 (202)
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	50.3	42.9	6.8	0.0	100.0 (15)
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	18.3	59.8	20.7	1.2	100.0 (108)
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	30.2	47.8	22.0	0.0	100.0 (16)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	27.3	51.3	18.0	3.3	100.0 (1128)

Chi Square = 53.84 with 27 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0015

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

results are not as clear. Artists in cluster 3, who also have substantial exhibitions (although in more traditional spaces), have fewest artists who spend most time experimenting. In the remaining eight clusters, the proportion indicating they spend "some time" experimenting is relatively constant (ranging from 42.9 to 59.8%), and only cluster one contains more than 3.6 percent who say they spend "no time" experimenting. (The total for cluster one is 7.4 percent.)

Table 5.22 shows the distribution of time spent producing work. Once again, there is a slight tendency for artists who show less (e.g., clusters 1, 5 and 7) to spend somewhat less time on production. But the remaining artists do not exhibit the same pattern. It seems likely that the general categories ("most," some" and "little") used in this question are only sensitive enough to identify gross differences, while the exhibition pattern differences identified in the remaining clusters are not large enough to show more systematic results. Using a somewhat more precise indicator of production time, the number of hours spent in an average week in the production of art, results in a clearer pattern. Table 5.23 shows this distribution. Over the first three clusters, the increase in exhibition success is reflected in an increase in time spent on production. Using a breakpoint of 20 hours, it is evident that those artists who are not successful in getting exhibitions, e.g., clusters 1 and 5, are more likely to put less than 20 hours in their art in an average week. As in the previous distribution (Table 5.22), however, other groups are less consistent. For example, members of cluster seven, who have a relatively low number of exhibits (mostly large group shows) split about equally between more and less than 20 production hours. This is true for cluster 9, also, although artists in this group are more likely to have one-person or small group shows.

TABLE 5.22. Exhibition Pattern By Time Spent Producing Work

	PROPORTION OF TIME USED				
EXHIBITION CLUSTERS	Most Time %	Some Time %	Little Time %	No Time %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. **Low Exhibitions**	42.3	27.0	18.7	11.9	100.0 (376)
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	66.4	27.8	5.9	0.0	100.0 (145)
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	66.0	28.0	4.1	1.9	100.0 (68)
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	58.6	32.6	6.8	1.9	100.0 (67)
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	51.1	36.4	9.1	3.4	100.0 (83)
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	67.3	32.7	0.0	0.0	100.0 (38)
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	54.7	27.6	12.9	4.8	100.0 (206)
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	58.5	41.5	0.0	0.0	100.0 (15)
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	64.8	25.4	5.3	4.4	100.0 (110)
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	45.6	45.6	8.7	0.0	100.0 (15)
COLUMN TOTAL* (N)	54.1	28.8	11.3	5.8	100.0 (1122)

Chi Square = 103.67 with 27 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5.23. Exhibition Pattern By Hours Spent Producing Art* (In an Average Week)

	NUMBER OF HOURS					
EXHIBITION CLUSTERS	0 - 10 %	11 - 20 %	21 - 30 %	31 - 40 %	41 or more %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. **Low Exhibitions**	40.9	25.9	14.8	10.2	8.2	100.0 (373)
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	21.6	17.4	27.2	17.5	16.3	100.0 (146)
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	17.0	17.7	36.4	14.8	14.1	100.0 (68)
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	27.2	32.5	20.6	10.4	9.4	100.0 (66)
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	27.1	34.0	19.0	9.3	10.6	100.0 (82)
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	25.2	30.4	12.7	11.7	20.0	100.0 (38)
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	23.2	27.2	18.1	14.8	16.7	100.0 (196)
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	17.1	17.1	0.0	14.9	50.8	100.0 (15)
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	12.2	35.4	17.1	19.0	16.2	100.0 (110)
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	28.8	6.7	8.7	32.2	23.5	100.0 (15)
COLUMN TOTAL* (N)	28.1	26.2	18.9	13.5	13.3	100.0 (1108)

Chi Square = 120.60 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Despite the positive relationship between exhibition record and art production time, the exceptions are still a very important part of these results. Artists who show less seem to spend less time on their work, but this is not universally true and we have no way to determine if lack of exhibition success is a cause or effect of the level of effort. We have made a deliberate effort to examine this issue from a variety of perspectives in order to uncover evidence which might support either the general direction of this relationship or specific instances (within groups) where a particular pattern might operate. Based on the results of this section, this question is still unanswered. In addition to the number of exhibits, the cluster analysis identified groups of artists who showed in different locations (cooperatives, alternative spaces, museums, commercial galleries, etc.) and in different types of shows (one-person, small group, large group), but analysis of these groups did not suggest a pattern of effort. With the exception of how often artists showed, there is no evidence that artists with different exhibition patterns worked at different levels or experimented to a greater or lesser degree.*

Employment Condition

The final analysis of working conditions and exhibition record concerns the amount of time artists must devote to outside jobs. In our discussions, many artists indicate a feeling that having a job (other than their art work) created prpblems in finding the time or "having the energy" to do art after work or on weekends. This suggests that artists in this situation may be less productive and successful than artists not encumbered by outside jobs (see Berron, 1968). Other artists found coping with their art easier after the release of an outside job (either art-related or nonart-related). These artists would presumably not be inhibited by their employment requirements. While our data do not permit us to answer the specific issues raised by these two positions, we can address the more general question of the empirical relationship of employment and exhibition success.

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*The possible exception to this generalization is cluster 8, whose artists were described as more likely to fall into the new art forms categor[illegible] and who tended to spend more time in experimenting. However, the s[illegible] of this group, weighted N=15, makes accurate generalization difficu[illegible].

Table 5.24 shows the number of hours worked on a paying job across weighted exhibition levels. There is a slight trend for those working full-time on other jobs to appear in a lower exhibition level group (reading down the fifth column). However, this trend is not sustained for those working less hours. For example, 27.3 percent of those working 0 to 10 hours are in the 0 - 10 exhibition level group, and 10.1 percent of those working 0 to 10 hours are at the 41-or-more exhibition level. These percentages correspond almost exactly (27.9% and 10.6%) with the overall number in these exhibition groups, indicating no effect of the number of hours worked.

Earlier, we speculated that holding an art-related job might be an important element in an artist's success. In Tables 32 and 33, Appendix E, we examined the relationship of holding full- and part-time jobs to weighted exhibition record. In both instances the relationship was found to be nonsignificant at the .05 probability level. Thus, the difference between full- and part-time art and nonart jobs did not influence weighted exhibition record. However, in Table 5.25, we present results which

TABLE 5.24. Weighted Exhibition Record by Job Time*

	NUMBER OF HOURS					
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF SHOWS	0 - 10 %	11 - 20 %	21 - 30 %	31 - 40 %	41 Up %	Row Total %
0 - 10	27.3	24.3	24.9	29.0	37.0	27.9
11 - 20	25.3	25.1	32.3	31.5	24.9	27.8
21 - 30	21.1	21.7	15.4	24.7	17.8	20.8
31 - 40	16.2	12.6	16.4	6.5	12.5	12.9
41 Up	10.1	16.3	11.0	8.2	7.8	10.6
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (341)	100.0 (180)	100.0 (167)	100.0 (261)	100.0 (116)	100.0 (1066)

Chi Square = 34.71533 with 16 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0043

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5.25. Weighted Exhibition Record By Type of Job

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	TYPE OF JOB Art-Related Job %	NonArt-Related Job %
0 - 10	25.0	31.8
11 - 20	28.0	28.7
21 - 30	21.1	20.2
31 - 40	13.9	10.2
41 or more	12.1	9.6
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (879)	100.0 (414)

suggest that holding any art-related job may be an advantage to the artist. There is a tendency for artists holding art-related jobs to have a better WER than artists who do not hold such jobs.* Our model suggested that artists with art-related jobs might have an advantage in relevant contacts and information that would provide an edge in getting exhibited. However, our data do not reveal whether the exhibition led to an art-related job or vice versa. Also, the differences are not large and it would be dangerous to draw general conclusions.

The Impact of Exhibition Pattern

The analyses of exhibition patterns provides a useful overview of the avenues of success for professional artists. A large proportion (35.1%) lists only 1 to 3 shows over the three years of the study. These are marginal professionals who are generally less experienced, less ambitious, or just not very good. They are somewhat disproportionately likely to be sculptors, drawers, photographers or new forms artists (over 40% of these groups are in the low exhibition cluster). There is only one small group of artists (cluster 8) which can be said to have a truly broad based exhibition record (over 3 years). The remaining artists (over 60% of the total) focus on just one type of show with some clusters represented in other show types more than others. At the extreme is a group of commercial gallery exhibitors (cluster 9), a group of public gallery exhibitors (cluster 5), and a group who exhibit in a variety of traditional spaces (museum, commercial and public spaces), but only in large group shows.

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*A test of statistical significance was not applied in this instance because the samples overlap. Some artists held both art-related and nonart jobs.

Part of the result may be a function of the limited timeframe, three years, used in the study. Most exhibition career development takes longer than three years. If time is a limiting factor, the results suggest that most artists function within a relatively narrow range of space accessibility. Analysis of the correlates of exhibition pattern shows that artists working in certain art forms, sculptors, drawers, photographers, and new forms artists, are less likely to have a large number or a variety of exhibits. This suggests that space is less accessible for these groups. Other factors also seem to influence differential accessibility. Among these are gender, art education, and experience. Race, and ethnic background apparently play no role in the distribution of success once the artists are in the system. There is considerable concern, however, among minority artists about gaining initial access to that system and about the cost of access in terms of creative freedom. There are also unanswered questions about the relative visibility of the spaces in which minority artists exhibit.

Exhibition pattern is related to various other art-related experiences and art income. The primary mode of selection, by invitation, is disproportionately represented across exposure clusters. Artists who tend to show in large group shows or public spaces are much less likely to rely on invitation and much more likely to enter open competitions. Since artists generally consider invitation to be a kind of status symbol, these results further serve to distinguish the artists in the clusters. Similarly, artists in with few exhibits, those who tend to show in large group shows, and those who show in public spaces are less likely to have a sales representative.

Art-income follows a similar pattern in which artists who are likely to have more shows who show in one-person or small group shows, and who are more likely to show in museums and commercial galleries earn a larger income from their art, are more likely to have representation, and are more likely to show through an agreement or by invitation than artists who have lesser amounts of these characteristics. There is a moderately strong hierarchical structure to the exhibition patterns. In addition to factors already discussed the level of exposure is also associated with successful efforts to exhibit outside the local community. These relationships are summarized in Table 5.26 which shows the rank order correlations between exhibition success (as represented by the WER) and the various other status characteristics. It should be noted that, while most of the relationships are statistically significant, they are of relatively modest magnitude. This means that there is more to be explained in the differences among exhibition level groups than has already been shown by the variables thus far considered in our analysis.

One of the factors not included in this analysis is the level of effort devoted to art activities. Our analysis of this factor shows a clear positive relationship between effort and success. What remains less than clear in the relationship among all variables examined are the direction of the relationship and the processes used by artists to establish their status. With regard to the former issue, the most likely model is an iterative process with a substantial amount of reinforcing feedback. As artists are more successful in exhibiting and selling their work, they pick up other status characteristics which were not available to them at lower levels of exposure success. Moving up to a higher level

TABLE 5.26. Randall's Tau Correlation Coefficients for Exhibition Status Variables

	Exposure record	Number of sales representatives	Geographical distribution of sales representatives	Art income	Method of selection for a show(a)	Successful efforts at exhibits outside of local area
WER		.216 (1161)**	0.143 (509)	.245 (1163)	-.173 (907)	.258 (1169)
Number of sales representatives		-	.103* (507)	.316 (1161)	-.262 (900)	.145 (1161)
Geographical distribution of sales representatives			-	.190 (509)	-.156 (419)	.299 (509)
Art income				-	-.160 (907)	.239 (1163)
Method of selection for a show(a)					-	.089* (907)
Successful efforts at exhibiting outside of local area						

*not statistically significant; all other coefficients are significant at .001 level.
**Totals based on a weighted sample.

(a) The values of method of selection were:
1 - an agreement with a dealer
2 - invitation
3 - competitions, events, gallery members, non-juried shows

(having more exhibition success) may be the result of prior activity, may create the opportunity for certain activities, and may create the interest in an increased level of activity. Thus, success may have a variety of reinforcing dimensions.

In the next chapter we examine, more specifically, the elements of the exhibition and sales process which may contribute to success.

CHAPTER 6

OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS II: THE EXHIBITION PROCESS

EXAMINING THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF EXPOSURE

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, we described the economic and occupational conditions of visual artists. These conditions included income, expenditures, employment, time use, and exposure. Because exposure is regarded as the focus of the artistic occupation and the primary basis for social definition of who is an artist, examining the dynamics of getting exhibited is a critical analytic step. The foregoing analysis provided a more or less static picture of the artist's situation because it looked at fixed conditions - previous income, prior expenditure record, and exhibition history - and was unable to provide conclusive evidence on the order (causal relationship) of events and conditions. In this chapter, we attempt to overcome some of the data limitations* by examining the processes artists use to get their work exhibited.

In general terms, our hypothesis is that, other factors not withstanding, the actions (beyond creating the art) taken by artists to have their work exhibited will have some effect on their success. These actions have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. It is not only the amount of energy put into artists' attempts to exhibit their work, but the specific types of actions and thoughts that drive those attempts which can make the difference between success and failure. Our discussions with exhibitors suggest strategies for getting exhibited that extend beyond letting the art speak for the artist. Some artists, particularly those who are very successful, may make little effort because exhibitors come to them. Their only real exhibition problem is attempting to move into a higher level market. Less successful artists must engage in more positive activity in order to promote their careers. Their success may depend on their ability to understand the market they are entering and interact with the primary gatekeepers of that market, the exhibitors.*

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*The specific "limitation" is the cross-sectional nature of the survey which constrains our ability to identify the time-related ordering of events.

In this chapter, we describe what artists do to get their work exhibited, their efforts, and the factors they consider when they decide where and how to look for exhibition space, considerations. Considering different factors implies information about the specific elements being considered, therefore our analysis includes the information networks used to inform those considerations. Finally, artists are thought to concern themselves with more than the immediate production of their art. In order to describe the relationship between doing art and other art-related activities, we will examine the art-related topics pursued by artists and the information sources for those topics.

All of the subjects mentioned above involve the process of getting exhibited and the process of gaining information about exhibition opportunities and art. Our analysis will describe the characteristics of artists who engage in particular patterns of these activities, including individual exhibition patterns. We shall look at the interactions of processes to identify more general patterns of search for exhibition space. Throughout the chapter, the search process used by artists will be contrasted with the actual and preferred search patterns used by exhibitors (to select artists) in order to identify the degree of congruance in the approaches.**

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*Our study focused on artists and exhibitors. An analysis of the greater art market, people who buy art, was described only as it was defined by artists and exhibitors.

**We discussed the general perspectives of exhibitors in Chapter 1.

Efforts to Exhibit

We asked artists to indicate what actions they used to get exhibited in local spaces during the previous year (see question 18 in Appendix A). The alternatives were: (1) by invitation; (2) as part of an agreement with an exhibitor; (3) going from space to space with portfolio or slides; (4) making appointments with exhibitors (with no other prior introduction); (5) making appointments with exhibitors (after prior introductions); (6) entering an open juried competition; (7) by establishing personal relationships; (8) as members of a cooperative or art organization; and (9) other (self-reported) approaches.* The attempts to get exhibited are termed efforts because they represent the actual effort artists made to have their work publically shown.**

The distribution of responses to the question is shown in Table 6.1. The most frequent means of getting work exhibited is by invitation (42% of the artists said this procedure was used usually or always). The second most common was through entry into juried competitions (30.2% always or usually). The least commonly used are the door-to-door techniques (even with appointments or prior introductions) which range from 5.9% to 7.7% in the usually and always categories. These figures suggest that the approaches least preferred by exhibitors (looking at uninvited or unknown artists) are not commonly used by artists in our sample. The incongruence between the complaint of exhibitors, that they are

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*Other efforts referenced by 1% or less of the artists include, submitting proposals for shows, entering non juried shows, entering shows with the help of friends, member of an alternative space (it is unspecified how these differed from cooperatives), using slide registries, and having their own gallery. In the aggregate, 5.4 percent of the artists indicated they had used one or more of these methods.

**Some of the efforts, like by invitation, are obviously passive. Others, like going from gallery to gallery with slides, are active if not effective.

TABLE 6.1 Frequency of Efforts Made to Get Art Work Exhibited*

	Invitation	Agreement w/Dealer	Going From Space to Space	Set Appointment with No Previous Introduction	Set Appointment with Previous Introduction	Open Juried Competition	Personal Relationship	Gallery Organization Member	Other Efforts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Never	17.3	54.6	68.8	66.1	52.3	28.5	36.4	53.7	75.6
Sometimes	40.2	25.3	23.0	25.9	41.3	41.2	42.7	24.8	12.8
Usually	28.7	13.0	6.2	6.0	4.5	23.3	16.1	13.3	4.0
Always	13.3	6.6	1.5	1.6	1.4	6.9	4.3	7.7	7.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1037)	100.0 (908)	100.0 (903)	100.0 (901)	100.0 (911)	100.0 (1108)	100.0 (932)	100.0 (936)	100.0 (284)

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample.

constantly being bombarded with artists attempting to get shows, and the infrequency of such activity among our sample is probably due to the experience level of the population from which our sample was drawn. All of the sample artists have exhibited, while it seems likely that many, perhaps most of the artists using various door-to-door approaches are less experienced.

Patterns in the Effort to Exhibit

The aggregate distribution of efforts does not identify individual differences or patterns. In order to isolate these patterns the cluster analysis technique was employed. In this instance, the cluster analysis shows groups of artists who used similar efforts to get exhibited. Cluster descriptions and the proportion of artists in each cluster are presented below:*

(1)	Little or no effort of any kind or no answer	8.9%
(2)	A slightly above average tendency to use juried shows or appointments (without prior introductions) and going door-to-door. These are artists unlikely to have strong exhibitor affiliations.	18.7%
(3)	This pattern is characterized by invitations and personal relationships with exhibitors, although artists in this group are also more likely than average to use any of the techniques except cooperative membership. This is the largest single group of artists.**	27.4%
(4)	This group depends almost exclusively on invitations to get exhibited. They are unlikely to have dealer agreements.	8.7%
(5)	The efforts of this group are characterized by invitations, juried competitions, and membership in cooperatives. They are unlikely to use any other form of effort, thus, they differ markedly from artists in clusters 3, 6 and 7.	4.4%

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*A matrix of the mean level of effort for members of each cluster across all effort categories (the matrix from which the clusters were derived) is presented in Table 1, Appendix F.

**Unfortunately there is no way to determine if this group and artists in the previous group are entering the same level of competition.

(6)	Artists in this group are most likely to have dealer agreements and/or show by invitation. They also may use their personal acquaintence with exhibitors to get exhibited. Across all effort categories they are generally very active in their attempts to get exhibited.	12.7%
(7)	As in cluster 5, these artists are more likely to use invitation, juried competition and cooperative membership in their efforts to be exhibited. However, unlike cluster 5 artists, they are also very active in using other techniques.	19.1%

This analysis shows that there are few artists who rely on a single technique for getting their works exhibited. The only group of this type are those artists, comprising 8.7% of the sample, who indicate that they exhibit almost exclusively by invitation. Based on the size of the groups the most common approach is eclectic. While showing some degree of specification, artists in clusters 3, 6 and 7 (almost 60% of the total) tend to use all of the techniques with greater than average frequency.* Discounting invitations, which presumably require little or no real effort by the artists (aside from doing their work), these artists also represent an active element in the art community. Even though some of the techniques are infrequently used, these artists clearly apply much more effort to get exhibited than artists in other groups. However, the breadth and level of activity does not necessarily indicate success. Artists using invitation or dealer agreement may be more "successful" despite being less active.

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*The figures in Table 1, Appendix F, represent mean values of the approximate categories (Always, Usually, Sometimes, and Never) used in question 18 (Appendix A). Thus, a value between 1 and 2 indicates that some portion of the artists didn't use the particular technique at all, while, value of 3 shows that most artists in that cluster used the technique at least "usually". With regard to chapters 3, 6, and 7, we can assume that many artists did not use some of the less popular techniques at all. It should be kept in mind that membership in a cluster does not mean that artists have identical patterns, but only that their patterns (of efforts) are more similar to each other than they are to other artists. There is some variance within clusters.

Patterns in Effort and Ascribed Characteristics

As part of the central examination of efforts to exhibit we examined the relationship of art form and several demographic valuables to effort patterns. Following are descriptions of those relationships:

Exhibition Efforts and Art Form

Table 6.2 reflects the similiarity of painters to the total sample distribution. They are never more than 3 percentage points different than the weighted group means. Artists working with other art forms, however, tend to vary widely across efforts clusters. Sculptors (13.7%) and new form artists (13.8%), for example, are more likely to show low efforts than any other groups. But, while sculptors show a greater likelihood to be in the "by invitation only" cluster (11.0%), over half (57.7%) of the new forms artists are in cluster 3, which is characterized by the use of invitations, personal relationships, and a variety of other techniques. New forms artists are also less likely to use the more selective approaches reflected in clusters 6 and 7. These results may indicate a somewhat limited circle of opportunity for new forms artists, i.e., who use a wide variety techniques to locate exhibition opportunities.*

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*One can only speculate on the degree to which the perception of diminished opportunity produces a self fulfilling prophecy because artists who perceive themselves as being _avant guarde_ do not seek more traditional exhibition opportunities. In some instances, the limits may be self evident; in others they may be self imposed. In our discussions artists indicated that most traditional spaces, particularly commercial galleries, will only show "safe" or "salable" art, this closing out artists whose work is radically different in some way. There is, however, no independent arbiter of the question of whether the work is "different" or just not very good. While commercial exhibitors admit the role of potential sales in their selections and public space (especially museum) proprietors admit the role of boards or publics as well, many also argue that these limitations are less constraining than the quality of the work presented by artists.

TABLE 6.2 Artists' Efforts Obtaining Exposure Opportunities by Art Form*

	EFFORTS CLUSTERS							
	No Effort; No Answer	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	Virtually all Exhibits by Invitation Only	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, w/Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	ROW TOTAL % (N)
ART FORM	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Painting	10.7	16.6	24.5	7.8	4.9	13.6	21.9	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	13.7	21.1	22.9	11.0	2.7	12.6	16.0	100.0 (151)
Printmaking	5.0	14.9	20.0	2.9	7.5	16.8	32.9	100.0 (78)
Drawing	5.3	33.9	22.9	4.7	0.0	6.1	27.0	100.0 (49)
Photography	9.6	16.1	39.3	8.3	2.2	11.1	13.3	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	13.8	19.8	52.7	2.9	0.0	8.0	2.9	100.0 (35)
Crafts	6.2	26.0	35.8	11.4	3.3	3.3	14.0	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	5.2	15.1	31.1	13.1	8.0	4.0	23.5	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	7.5	17.7	26.4	8.7	5.5	18.5	15.7	100.0 (25)
COLUMN TOTAL	9.3	18.6	27.5	8.2	4.3	13.2	18.9	100.0 (1164)

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Chi Square = 96.41278 with 48 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.11750

About a third (32.9%) of the printers are in cluster 7, which is characterized by entering open juried competitions and being a member of a cooperative gallery. This result reflects both the apparent limited commercial gallery opportunities for printers and the high competition for available spaces. It may also reflect the greater availability of competitions for this art form. Artists whose primary activity is drawing have a similar pattern of efforts. Slightly over a third (33.9%) are in cluster 2 which reflects entrance into competitions and setting up appointments to show work to presumably relevant exhibitors. Cluster 2 is also low on efforts, indicating that many drawers are not pursuing exhibitions with great vigor. Twenty-seven percent are in cluster 7, where artists rely on competitions and cooperative memberships as well as the marginal use of a variety of other techniques. Print makers and drawers, then, use similar efforts in attempting to get their works exhibited.

Photographers, on the other hand, are most likely (39.3%) to use invitations and personal relationships. As will be recalled from Chapter 5 (Table 5.4), this does not mean they are likely to have greater exhibition success than other groups. Thus, this pattern may reflect more limited space availability and the need to establish closer ties to exhibitors in order to be successful.

Finally, crafts artists are divided into two major groups: (1) those who enter competitions (26.0%); and (2) those who are more likely to use invitations and personal relationships (35.8%). The former group is perhaps the expected mode in this highly competitive area. However, the latter group may dominate our sample because of the type of space used in study. Craft galleries, art fairs, etc. were excluded. Thus, craft artists in our sample may work in somewhat different styles than craft artists who show in conventional craft spaces. This might explain the presence of larger proportions in what may be considered to be exclusive (by invitation) efforts categories.

Exhibition Efforts and Gender

Men are more likely to appear in clusters characterized by invitation and dealer agreement (3, 4, and 6) than women (Table 2, Appendix F). Women are more likely to be cooperative gallery members and enter juried competitions (clusters 5 and 7) than men. These results parallel earlier findings that women lag somewhat behind men in their exhibition histories. They do little, however, to illuminate the difficult problem of whether the difference in exhibition success is due to the direction of ones efforts, the level of effort, bias in the selection system or other factors. It seems clear that women artists without an extensive exhibition histories have less opportunity to avail themselves of certain types of efforts, like invitations. On the other hand, it is less clear why they are less successful at forming arrangements with commercial dealers.

Exhibition Efforts and Race

Nonwhites have somewhat different efforts patterns than whites, but the magnitude of the differences is small (Table 3, Appendix F).* Nonwhites are more likely to be in the low efforts cluster (14.5% to 8.2%) and cluster 7, entering competitions and as members of cooperatives (23.3% to 18.9%). White artists are more likely to be in cluster 2 which is generally low efforts and focussing on juried competitions (19.7% to 8.4%) and cluster 5, which focuses on cooperative gallery membership, entering juried competitions, and invitations to the exclusion of other types of efforts (4.5% to 1.2%). These differences are not suggestive of reported minority artist problems discussed in previous chapters. Minority artists are as likely to be in high activity clusters as white artists. They are somewhat less likely to use the technique of making appointments to show work to prospective dealers (cluster 2). However, since this is not a common technique in any group, the difference is not indicative of the perceived problems of minority artists.*

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*Although it is statistically significant.

Exhibition Efforts and Art Education

One of the issues that disturbed many artists was the lack of practical (i.e., how to get exhibits and how to sell work) training received by artists during their formal art education. Part of that issue centered on what to do in order to get an exhibit.** Table 4, Appendix F, presents results on the relationship of efforts cluster membership and art education. The results are statistically significant, but their meaning is difficult to interpret. Non degree artists, for example, are more likely to exert no effort than degree holding artists (cluster 1). While this is understandable for art hobbyists, it is more difficult to explain for exhibited artists.

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*The results suggest that minority artists attempt all of the various techniques to get exhibited. Again, since our sample includes only artists who were successful (at least once), it may not reflect the wider problems of unsuccessful minority artists.

**Strauss, 1974, Barron, 1968, and Rosenberg and Fliegel, 1965 all argue that art schools do provide some systematic information in these areas. The artists in our groups, however, generally did not feel this effort was sufficient and left the newly trained artists unprepared for the practical challenges facing them.

Level of education is directly related to membership in clusters 3 and 4 but the relationship seems to go in opposite directions. In cluster 3 higher education indicates greater likelihood for cluster membership which is characterized of invitations and personal relationships. However, in cluster 4 the relationship is reversed, higher education indicates a lower membership probability, where the effort focusses almost exclusively on invitation. A possible explanation for this outcome is that artists with more formal art education are more likely to have formed the ties or developed an understanding of the need* to form ties than those with less art education (regardless of success level). For other efforts clusters there is no clear relationship.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR CHOOSING AN EXHIBITION SPACE

In the foregoing section we described what artists did when looking for exhibition space; a behavioral indicator based on self report. Successfully obtaining a show, however, is much more complicated than calling an exhibitor for an appointment or showing a gallery owner. A major complaint of exhibitors is that artists present work for review which is entirely inappropriate for the space being solicited. Using the wrong criteria or making the wrong choice may greatly reduce an artists chances of exhibiting, if for no other reason than a substantial amount of time may be wasted looking in the wrong place. This raises the issue of what factors artists consider when they are choosing spaces in which to show their work. Our questionnaire included a list of 14 possible considerations and asked artists to indicate to what extent each played a role in their targeting of potential exhibition spaces (Question 20, Appendix A). While there is no way of knowing if the artists actually do consider all factors they say they consider, the wide distribution of responses across categories suggests that answers reflect the thought processes of respondents. In addition, in our earlier discussions with artists many were very willing to admit to "mistakes" in their approaches finding exhibition space.

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*Many artists talked about the need to form informal personal ties to exhibitors as a means to getting exhibited. Exhibitors also discussed the role of such ties. At their most benign level these relationships form the basis for wider recognition and referrals which can be advantages to both artists and exhibitors. Many exhibitors indicated that a major source of new artists came from the suggestions of trusted friends and colleagues. At their worst, such relationships can form the basis of selection without consideration for quality. It is obviously very difficult to determine the extent to which either extreme dominates efforts based on personal relationships.

A distribution of responses to this question is presented in Table 6.3.* The major complaint of exhibitors (particularly gallery dealers) is that

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*The complete response categories are as follows:

a. Whether the gallery is taking on additional artists.
b. If there is an upcoming annual or thematic exhibition.
c. If there is an upcoming competition.
d. The compatibility with what is shown there.
e. The quality of other work shown there.
f. If an outside opinion (e.g., a friend) recommends it.
g. Friendly with the exhibitor.
h. The reputation of the space.
i. The reputation of the staff or director.
j. The costs of exhibiting there, e.g., for shows, commission, percent, etc.
k. The reputation of the director in working with artists.
l. The media coverage received by the space.
m. Amount of promotional work by space.
n. The exhibitor understanding of your ideals and artistic objectives.
o. Other factors. Please specify:____________________

Eighty-three artists (8.8%) wrote in responses in the "other" category. Following are the categories and proportions (of the total) who used each new category:

a. Physical dimension of the space - 2.6%
b. Future opportunities the show or space might create for the artist - 2.3%
c. Location of space - 1.6%
d. Security of space - .1%
e. Dealers character (as somehow distinguished from categories g, i, and k - .9%
f. Feel of the space - .5%
g. Artists imput into the show (beyond art) - .4%
h. Receipt of an invitation - .1%

TABLE 6.3 Frequency with Which Selected Factors are Considered When Looking for an Exhibition Space*

	Gallery Taking Add'l Artists %	Upcoming Special Show %	Upcoming Competition %	Compatibility with What Is Shown %	Quality of Work Shown %	Outside Opinion Recommends %	Friendly with Exhibitor %	Reputation of Space %	Reputation of Staff %	Cost of Exhibiting in Space %	Reputation of Director for Working with Artists %	Media Coverage of Space %	Promotional Work by Space %	Exhibitor Understand My Ideas %
Never	44.2	37.0	35.6	17.0	11.7	20.4	35.4	14.4	18.4	26.8	20.6	27.4	23.7	20.1
Sometimes	32.5	43.7	37.7	18.0	6.8	54.8	46.5	18.4	24.7	25.9	27.4	36.0	34.4	22.3
Usually	13.8	13.6	19.0	30.1	25.2	19.5	13.4	31.3	29.2	22.8	21.6	24.2	24.8	30.8
Always	9.3	5.5	7.5	34.8	56.2	5.2	4.5	35.7	27.5	24.4	23.3	12.2	10.9	26.5
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (969)	100.0 (995)	100.0 (998)	100.0 (1033)	100.0 (1082)	100.0 (999)	100.0 (954)	100.0 (1053)	100.0 (1003)	100.0 (1003)	100.0 (998)	100.0 (1003)	100.0 (948)	100.0 (998)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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artists come in or make appointments to show their work without considering the characteristics of the space relative to their own work. Our results show that 17 percent of the exhibited artists never consider compatibility, 11.7 percent never consider the quality of work shown in the spaces, and 20.1 percent never consider the exhibitors understanding of their ideas and objectives. All of these factors are characteristics of the spaces about which artists might be expected to have knowledge before they solicit an exhibition. From the perspective of the exhibitors' complaint, there are two ways to interpret these results. Because the figures represent a minority of the artists (1 in 5 or less for each area) it could be argued that artists are probably more thoughtful than dealers think. In addition, as we mentioned in a previous discussion, there are many artists who would not appear in our sample (because they have not previously exhibited), who may be more prone to this marketing "mistake".

On the other hand, 1 in 9 or 1 in 6 "professional" artists who do not consider such basic factors as compatibility with the target space (both substantially and qualitatively) suggests that many artists are not very systematic in their approach to marketing their work. There are also many more artists who consider these factors only "sometimes", thus adding credence to the exhibitors' argument.

Other factors are much less frequently considered. Over a third of the respondent artists never take into consideration an annual or thematic exhibition, or a competition. Such opportunities are somewhat rare events and artists who wait for them may have long periods between possible shows. Almost half (44.2%) never consider whether the gallery is taking on new artists. One of the major issues in this area is the availability of information. If artists waited for exhibitors (especially commercial galleries) to advertise or otherwise generally publish their interest in new artists, their resumes would indeed be short. Second, there is a question of perceived quality. Often artists feel their work is as good or better than work currently being shown in the space. Thus, availability or openings appear irrelevant. Similarly, most artists say they consider the quality of the space (81.4% consider quality of their work "always" or "usually"), although their judgment may be at odds with the exhibitor's opinion. Often exhibitors make "quality" judgments on the basis of factors other than the appearance of the work, such as previous exhibition experience. As with taking on new artists, the criteria are not always explicit and the use of these quality factors requires information which may not be generally available to inexperienced artists.

Some considerations, like the amount of promotional work and media coverage, are likely to be important to only a limited number of artists whose careers are advanced enough to permit them to think about rejecting an exhibition based on such factors. Therefore, it is not surprising that over half of the artists say they never or only sometimes consider these factors. The artistic reputation of the space or staff is a similar factor. Artists with greater experience are more likely to focus on this factor.

Finally, there is the issue of personal relationships with exhibitors. In our group meetings many artists complained that exhibiting in all types of spaces was often a function of the artists personal relationship with the exhibitor. In the survey, 81.9 percent said they never or only sometimes considered personal relationships with the exhibitor in attempting to get a show. This is consistent with complaints that a minority of artists were gaining an advantage by using personal influence rather than quality. It is consistent also with the distaste many artists had for such an approach. However, others took a different perspective, indicating that if becoming friendly with exhibitors would increase exhibition opportunities, they would certainly be willing to try that approach - if only they knew how to establish such relationships.

As we examine the factors associated with considerations, we will have an opportunity to test some of the explanations offered in terms of the characteristics of the artists who consider each factor. In the next section we examine the pattern of considerations.

Patterns of Factors Considered in Attempting to Find Exhibition Space

While looking at individual considerations can provide some information about what the artist thinks is important, it is limited because it does not provide an integrated picture of the artist's approach. What is needed is a way to examine all the considerations simultaneously, so that the artists' approach can be characterized across all factors they may be considering when choosing potential exhibition spaces. The cluster analysis procedures provides a mechanism for examining these patterns. In the analysis of considerations responses across 14 categories were used to identify seven groups of artists who had similar patterns.* Table 5, Appendix F, shows the distribution of mean values across considerations for each artist cluster. The clusters are described as follows:

1. Artists who indicate they consider no factors. This cluster probably includes those artists who are not trying to exhibit and those who primary efforts may be going door-to-door. 7.9%

2. Artists who may consider several different factors, but who consider none frequently. There is an unsystematic quality to this group. 12.8%

3. Artists who apparently consider virtually all factors with relative frequency. Especially important, in terms of the frequency of consideration, are the quality of work shown, the reputation of the space, reputation of the director for working with artists, and exhibitor understanding of the artists' ideas. 21.2%

4. These artists focus on the quality of the work shown, the reputation of the space, and to a small degree compatibility. They tend to ignore all other factors and even areas that they do consider are only moderately important. 6.7%

5. These artists are concerned with the quality of work shown, reputation of the space, if the exhibitor understands their ideas, reputation of the staff and compatibility. Unlike cluster 3 artists, they are much less concerned about other factors, although more than cluster 4 artists. 14.8%

6. These artists represent the typical approach to considerations in that they are closest to overall group means on all but one of the factors. In general, they consider each factor sometimes or usually. They ignore none and focus on none. Their greatest deviation is an apparent disinterest in whether the exhibitor understands their ideas. 12.0%

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*A limitation of this analysis is that it is cross sectional in effect. That is, the answers given by artists represent their perspective across a period of time, on the average, and may not represent what was being considered at a given time. To the extent that artists frequently change the factors they consider, the characterization these data represent are less accurate. If the artists are consistant the data are more reliable. We assume that responses represent the artists' feelings at the time of the survey and given the level of experience existing at that time.

7. These artists are similar to those in cluster 6 except that the general level of interest in all considerations is higher. They fall between artists who seem to consider most factors all the time (cluster 3) and those who consider most factors but only infrequently (cluster 6). The primary single concern of these artists is the quality of the work shown in prospective spaces. 24.6%

Overall the results of this cluster analysis are less satisfying than the analyses of efforts because the clusters are not as focussed in groups of consideration factors and are more focussed on the level of considerations. This is partially a function of the items (considerations) used in the question. Clearly, all of these items could be considered important and, therefore, it might be difficult for the artist to sort the factors actually considered from those which "should be" considered. Thus, the cluster analysis identifies groups of artists in terms of their level of consideration across all items. Some artists, as in cluster 3, seem to think about a wide variety of factors and to give each of these factors significant weight in their decision process. Taken literally this represents a very complex thought process and we might expect to find it represented among more sophisticated and experienced artists. Other artists seem to consider most of the items, but only intermittently, such as those in clusters 2 and 6. With these artists it is impossible to predict, on the basis of our data, what combination of factors may be considered at any given instant.* In these groups we might expect to find artists who do not really think much about how they attempt to get their work exhibited and perhaps very inexperienced artists.

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*It cannot be argued that the same factors (but less than all) are considered each time because the cluster analysis would have identified distinguishable groups if this had been true. We produced cluster solutions with up to 10 clusters before deciding that the seven cluster solution provided the most reasonable solution.

Clusters 2, 6, 7 and 3 (in that order) represent the type of progression described above. Clusters 4 and 5 are more issue focussed than the others. Keeping these limitations and interpretations in mind we will examine other individual characteristics which may be related to cluster membership.

Patterns of Considerations and Ascribed Characteristics

As in the analysis of efforts, we will begin our examination of considerations by examining the relationship of cluster membership to a variety of individual characteristics.

Considerations and Art Form

Although artists working with different art forms may have varying degrees of accessibility, their considerations were not expected to vary significantly from one group to another. The results of Table 6, Appendix F, generally support this expectation.* There are few major differences in the distribution of cluster memberships across art forms.

One possible exception to this rule occurs for the "new forms" artists, who seem to be disproportionately represented in cluster 5 which, among other characteristics, focuses more heavily on the exhibitors acceptance of the artists ideas and objectives. For these artists such a factor may well be central to their interest in present nontraditional art forms

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*Throughout this report we have been using the $\leq$.05 level of statistical significance as the cut off for acceptance or rejection of a given relationship or table (primarily using a chi square test of significance). Typically we have achieved levels of .01 or lower. The chi square for the table is .067, which is marginally larger than the acceptable level. Therefore, while we discuss some of the results of the table, we also will warn the reader that the results are somewhat more likely to have occurred by chance than in previous tables.

Considerations and Gender

Women are somewhat less likely (15.3% to 9.9%) to ignore all considerations (cluster 2) and somewhat more likely to consider all factors seriously (cluster 3) or moderately (cluster 7) than are men (Table 7, Appendix F). On the other hand, women are more likely to appear in cluster 4, which which focuses on quality of the work shown in prospective spaces to the exclusion of most other factors (8.9% to 4%) and less likely (17.4% to 12.0%) to appear in cluster 5 which focuses on the quality of the space (through work and reputation) and agreement with the artists ideals. While statistically significant, these differences do not seem to tell us much about the situation of women in art.

Considerations and Race

There are no significant differences between white and nonwhite artists in the area of considerations. (Table 8, Appendix F) This result is not unexpected given the similarity of these groups across other experience and exhibition indicators in our sample. It does not address the issue of what might be happening to minority artists who do not have previous exhibition experience; nor does it address any questions related to the spaces in which minority artists may be attempting to exhibit.

Considerations and Art Education

One measure of the practical lessons learned in school may be the sophistication with which artists approach the issue of where to exhibit. In Table 6.4 we receive some evidence that an appreciation for the many

TABLE 6.4 Artists Considerations Regarding Exposure Opportunities by Art Education*

CONSIDERATIONS		ART EDUCATION				
Cluster		MFA, MA %	BFA, BA, MA Art Education %	Art Classes %	Self-Taught %	ROW TOTAL %
1.	Considered None of Them; No Answer	4.9	7.5	9.3	11.1	7.5
2.	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	9.4	12.6	13.5	24.1	12.6
3.	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	27.4	22.7	15.4	16.0	21.6
4.	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	3.9	5.3	11.0	5.6	6.5
5.	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	20.1	12.5	12.2	12.7	14.9
6.	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	10.2	13.5	12.8	12.1	12.1
7.	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	24.0	25.9	25.9	18.6	24.8
	COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (374)	100.0 (366)	100.0 (341)	100.0 (83)	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 60..267 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = .0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample

factors which might influence choosing an exhibition location was part of an artists formal education. In clusters 1, 2 and 3 we see that as education increases so does the likelihood that an artist will seriously consider a broad range of factors in choosing potential exhibition spaces. Also in cluster 4, highly educated artists are less likely to focus on a particular factor, quality of the work, than are artists with less formal education. Cluster 4 can be contrasted with cluster 5, which shows those artists with Masters' Degrees as being more likely than other groups to be concerned with the variety of quality factors important to this group.

Sources of Information about Considerations

We have postulated that an important aspect of the exhibition process is what factors the artists consider in attempting to get their work exhibited. In the preceding section we described the self reported use of those factors and the patterns of their use among artists. In this section we carry that analysis a step further by examining the sources of information about each consideration. Use of any factor in making an exhibition decision is dependent upon information. Earlier, we suggested that some of the factors are more difficult to evaluate than others because there is less obvious data on which to make decisions. Examples include whether a gallery is looking for new artists, the cost of exhibiting, and media coverage of the space. In addition, the various considerations often lend to themselves to different information sources. Looking for new artists might be picked up by word-of-mouth from artist friends or from some sort of advertising. The reputation of the space may come from are sources or newspapers. Compatibility may be best determined by simply looking at what is shown in the space.

The complexity of the considerations suggest that artists with "good" information sources will have an advantage in finding appropriate* exhibition spaces. While we were able to speculate about possible sources for each of the considerations, there is no prior empirical evidence about just what sources artists use and what patterns of information seeking exist.

Table 6.5 shows the relative frequency of use for each source as well as the frequency for each consideration. Although there is much variation across categories, the clear leader among outside information sources is other artists. A total of 65.8% of all artists (N-940) cited this source.** A similar proportion (64.6%)** cited personal knowledge as a primary source in one or more consideration categories, although it is not clear how they obtained this knowledge. The next leading source, the intended exhibitor, was cited by only 33.7%** of the artists, while the least used source of information, art service organizations, was cited by only 7%.***

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*"Appropriate" here is defined as willing to show the artist's work and acceptable to the artist (on criteria dimensions implied by the considerations).

**The figure was not compiled directly from table 6.5

***The remaining figures are:
non-artist friends - 18.9%
art teachers - 8.4%
local art publications - 25.8%
national art publications- 25.9%
local newspapers - 29.5%
other exhibitors - 16.6%
local art organizations - 13.3%

TABLE 6.5. Considerations in Looking for an Exhibition Space by Sources of Information

Considerations	Sources Artists %	Friends %	Teachers %	Local Art Media %	Regional Nat'l Media %	Local Newspapers %	Intended Exhibitor %	Other Exhibitors %	Local Art Organ's %	Active Service Organization %	Personal Knowledge %	Other %	N *
Space Taking Additional Artists	48.6	6.7	1.3	1.7	.2	1.5	22.1	2.3	2.1	.8	10.0	1.7	100% (479)
Upcoming The Media or Annual Show	17.1	3.3	2.4	20.4	16.1	8.0	9.5	2.4	7.8	3.7	6.7	1.5	100% (538)
Upcoming Competition	15.8	3.1	1.7	20.6	22.2	7.4	5.5	0.7	9.9	4.4	6.6	1.5	100% (544)
Compatability With Space	17.1	2.5	1.9	2.6	2.8	0.8	5.6	3.3	0.9	0.3	60.3	1.7	100% (643)
Quality of Other Work Shown	19.4	2.4	1.0	1.0	3.0	1.4	1.9	2.7	1.7	0.0	64.2	1.3	100% (702)
Someone Recommends Space	57.3	14.6	4.4	0.6	0.4	1.4	1.0	4.6	0.8	1.2	11.6	1.6	100% (499)
Reputation of Space	41.5	5.2	3.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	0.9	4.7	2.0	0.2	31.3	1.2	100% (656)
Reputation of Staff	51.7	6.9	2.4	1.0	2.6	1.8	0.6	6.8	1.3	1.6	21.5	1.8	100% (619)
Cost of Exhibitions	21.7	1.4	1.2	2.0	1.6	1.1	38.3	5.2	2.9	2.1	20.0	2.5	100% (561)
Reputation of Director Working Artis	62.3	4.0	1.7	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.5	7.6	2.2	1.5	16.2	1.7	100% (604)
Media Coverage Received	11.0	1.6	0.2	8.2	11.6	35.1	6.0	1.4	1.2	0.9	20.5	2.4	100% (562)
Amount of Promotion	21.5	1.9	0.5	4.0	6.6	14.2	17.7	4.7	3.3	0.9	21.5	3.4	100% (424)
Understanding of Ideals & Objections	15.5	3.1	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.4	22.9	2.3	1.6	0.3	47.1	2.2	100% (573)

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* The total N for each consideration does not include those who answered "never" for that item on the consideration question, as well as those who simply failed to answer the item. Thus, answers are presumed to refer to what was done, rather than what should have been done.

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In table 6.5 we can see how sources varied across consideration categories. Other artists were the primary source of information (from 41.5% to 62.3%) in five consideration categories: whether a space is taking additional artists; an outside recommendation of a space; the reputation of a space, the reputation of a space's staff; and the reputation of the director for working with artists. For each consideration concerned with reputation the artist's personal knowledge was the second most likely source. Artists were their own best source over 60% of the time when considering their compatibility with a space and when considering the quality of other work shown in the space. They were the best source almost half the time (47.1%) when determining if the exhibitor understood their ideals and objectives.

No other information sources dominated consideration categories like other artists and personal knowledge. Information on upcoming events, competitions, or thematic shows is likely to come from a variety of sources including local (about 20%) and regional (from 16.7% and 22%) art media, local newspapers (7% and 8%), local art organizations (7.8% and 9.9%), the intended exhibitor (9.5% and 5.5%), as well as other artists and personal knowledge. Information on the cost of exhibiting comes primarily from the intended exhibitor (38.3%), other artists and personal knowledge. Information on media coverage comes primarily from local newspapers (35.1%), personal knowledge (20.5%) regional and national media (11.6%) and other artists (11%). With the exception of the vague origins of "personal knowledge", there are few surprises in these distributions. Other artists, rather than more formal sources like media or organizations, dominate the artists approach to information. Nonartist friends, teachers, other exhibitors, and both types of art organization seem to play a very small role.

The use of other artists and personal knowledge as the primary information sources may reflect a professional and social gap between artists and other art world people. This does not mean isolation, but that relationships seem restricted to the exhibition situation. The small proporation of artists considering personal relationships in attempting to obtain shows is another indicator of this restriction. The perception of many artists, as reflected in the group discussions, that the artist exhibitor linkage was almost an adversary relationship reflects these survey finding; so does the feeling of resentment toward exhibition success which some artists see as the result of personal relationships rather than artistic merit.

Another issue raised by these results is the extent to which artists pursue information in a systematic way. Some information, once obtained, is held without much effort to update or review. This may account for the importance of personal knowledge. Some artists may rely on limited sources, while others pursue a wide variety of sources.* In order to examine this issue in greater detail we used the cluster analysis technique to group artists who had different information source patterns. This analysis focuses on the use of different sources across all considerations.** The cluster analysis identified seven groups of artists as follows:***

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*One question we could not pursue was the number of different artists from whom each respondent obtained information.

**It was not possible to include both dimensions, considerations and number of sources into a single analysis because considerations are nominal categories which do not permit heirachical arrangement.

***Table 9, Appendix F, presents the near value for each source across clusters.

1. Artists who used little or no outside information. This group is composed primarily of those who had no consideration or answered "never" to all or most of the considerations (thus making source questions irrelevant). 32.4%
2. Artists who rely almost exclusively on their personal knowledge of the situation. 12.1%
3. Artists who rely on other artists and, to a larger degree then other clusters, the media (art publications and newspapers), other exhibitors, and art organizations. These are artists With the broadest information source base. 13.2%
4. Artists who are highly reliant on other artists for all types of information. 8.9%
5. These artists focus on the exhibitor of interest for their information with moderate reliance on other artists and personal knowledge. 12.7%
6. These artists look to both other artists and personal knowledge to provide information. 16.1%
7. Artists who rely on non-artist friends, personal knowledge and, to a lesser degree, other artists for their information. 4.6%

With the exception of cluster 1, these clusters present relatively clear patterns or networks of information sources for artists. About 1 artist in 8 seems to be essentially a loner, with little reliance on outside information (cluster 2). A similar proportion has a wide distribution of sources (cluster 3). These artists could be classified as the information seekers among artists. A somewhat smaller group (about 1 in 12) is highly reliant on other artists to the exclusion of almost all other sources (cluster 4). Artists in the fifth cluster, also about 1 in 8, are oriented toward the exhibitor (probably their dealer) more than any other group. They account for most of the use of dealers as an information source. Artists in cluster six use primarily two sources, other artists and personal knowledge. They fall between the extremes represented in cluster 2 (personal knowledge) and cluster 4 (other artists). Finally, a small group (about 1 in 20) is oriented toward non-artist friends for their considerations information.

We examined the relationship of information sources and art form and, although these are a statistically significant relationship, the results do not suggest explanations for particular information source patterns (Table 10, Appendix F). For example, sculptors (38.2%) and craft artists (38.7%) are most likely to be in cluster 1 (little or no network use), while artists using multiple forms are least likely (18.3%) to be in this group. On the other hand, multiple forms artists are most likely to be self reliant (35.5%), while craft artists are least likely (6.9%).* Crafts artists are not likely to use multiple sources (18.1%) and photographers are least likely. Photographers are more likely than any other group (17.6%) to use the prospective exhibitor as an information source, while new forms artists, who are more likely to be concerned about the exhibitors understanding of their ideals and objectives are least likely (3.7%) to use exhibitors as an information source. While interesting, these differences provide few revealing clues as to why the art form groups should differ in their information networks.**

TOPICS OF INTEREST TO ARTISTS

A broader dimension of the artist's informational environment includes staying abreast of general artistic developments. Included on this dimension are the following areas:

a. Latest ideas and developments by other artists in this (local) area.
b. Latest ideas and developments in major art markets like New York, Los Angeles or Chicago.
c. Art criticism and aesthetics.
d. The local art scene.
e. What is being shown at important local spaces.
f. What is being shown at important national spaces.

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*Although other groups, like painters, sculptors and new forms artists were close at about 10%.

**A cross tabulation of considerations by network controlling for art form could probably increase our understanding of both patterns, but cell frequency would be too small for reliable interpretation.

g. *The system of getting exhibited.*
h. Art history content and techniques.
i. Other areas.*

While these topics may not directly affect the artists chances for a specific show, they do provide background which may contribute to an understanding of what is happening on the local art scene or the development of the artists' own work. In asking questions about these topics we hoped to identify artists' orientation toward local, national and academic art-related issues and events, and explore the relationship between what artists are interested in and their behavior in the art market.

The general response distribution is presented in Table 6.6. Interestingly, the topic "the system of getting exhibited" receives the least attention, with 45.5% keeping up in this area sometimes or always. Local ideas and development, the local art scene, and shows in important local spaces receive the most attention with over 80% following these areas sometimes or always. In the same sense that artists were the primary source of information about considerations, local art is the primary topic of interest.

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*One-hundred and nine artists specified "other" topics which yielded the following categories:

National art scene - 1.1% (out of 940 artists)
funding sources - .5%
new spaces - .5%
international art scene - .6%
new materials - 2.2%
art education, art therapy - .7%
legal (art-related) issues - .2%
arts organizations - .2%
none art topic - .5%

TABLE 6.6. Frequency by Which Artists Keep Up With Selected Art-Related Topics

	Local Ideas and Development %	National Developments %	Art Criticism & Aesthetics %	Local Art Scene %	Shows at Important Local Spaces %	Shows at Important National Spaces %	System of Getting Exhibited %	Art History %	Other %
Never	4.5	10.0	9.2	4.9	3.9	5.8	17.3	11.9	20.9
Seldom	11.9	22.2	20.6	12.3	9.4	18.1	37.1	26.2	4.4
Sometimes	52.7	46.9	48.9	45.8	43.3	50.7	34.4	42.6	25.3
Always	30.3	20.8	21.3	36.8	43.3	25.2	11.1	18.1	49.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)*	100.0 (1099)	100.0 (1096)	100.0 (1088)	100.0 (1104)	100.0 (1094)	100.0 (1079)	100.0 (1043)	100.0 (1063)	100.0 (168)

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample.

The apparent lack of interest in information on the system of getting exhibited may be due to a variety of reasons. Among the more important may be that many of the sample artists are in comfortable exhibition position and do not feel they need such information. Artists who are struggling to get exhibited may see a need, but may find the "system" too incomprehensible to systematically follow. In our group discussions, both artists and exhibitors called for periodic workshops or seminars to provide systematic current information on how and where to seek exposure opportunities.

Patterns of Art Interests

We again used the cluster analyses to identify groups of artists who shared the same topical interests.* The following seven patterns were identified:

(1) Artists who were disinterested in these art-related topics. They seldom or never kept up on any of the topics. 5.4%

(2) Artists who were marginally interested in a variety of topics, but none constantly. There highest interest was in local art and the local art scene. 11.0%

(3) Artists with a high interest in all topics. These may be considered the motivated or interested artists. 30.6%

(4) General moderate to high interest in all topics except the exhibition system. 17.8%

(5) General moderate to high interest in all topics except art history. These artists showed somewhat greater interest in local art topics. These artists are perhaps less academically oriented than those with high interest in art history. 17.3%

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*The cluster matrix is presented in Table 11, Appendix F.

(6)	Moderate interest in all topics except major art markets and art criticism, where interest was somewhat lower than average.	15.0%
(7)	High interest in local art shows, generally low interest in other areas and especially low interest in the system of getting exhibited and art history.	2.9%

As with considerations the division of artists on topics is oriented more toward the amount of interest than substantive issues. Artists in clusters 1, 2, and 7 seem to have little general interest in the topics. Artists in cluster 6 have a moderate interest, and those in clusters 3, 4 and 5 have a higher, though not identical, level of interest. For some artists the academic topics, as manifested in the art history category, are singled out as uninteresting topics (clusters 5 and 7). Two groups also are particularly interested in the system of getting exhibited (clusters 4 and 7). The largest single group (cluster 3) including over 30% of all artists is highly interested in all art-related topics. Only one group seems to focus primarily on local topics (cluster 5) and that focus is marginal. A possible national versus local split among artists does not seem to exist or, if it does, it is so small that it does not show up in our analysis.*

Topic Clusters and Ascribed Characteristics

Topics and Art Form

Difference in patterns of interest among artists working in different art forms are small, but statistically significant (Table 12, Appendix F). Artists working as print makers or drawers are especially likely (41.6% and 45.4% respectively) to have a high general interest in all topics (cluster 3). Craft artists, on the other hand, are unlikely to show this broad interest (16.5%). If cluster 5 separates those with an academic interest from those without such an interest (because of the low score in art history), then multiple form artists seem particularly uninterested in art history (33.5% are in this cluster) while maintaining a high interest in the remaining topics. Statistical significance not withstanding, the generally wide distribution of artists working in any art form across the topic categories makes it difficult to classify any art form group as other than varied in its approach to topics.

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*In other runs we looked at up to 10 clusters without finding significant differences from the clusters presented here.

Topics and Gender

In the two topics which show the largest differences for men and women, men are more likely to appear in the low interest cluster (2) than women by a margin of 14.2% to 7.7%, and women are more likely to appear in the general high interest cluster (3) by a margin of 39.7% to 23.3% (Table 13, Appendix F). These figures suggest that men are generally less likely to be interested in or devote time to the topics being considered. This result is partially offset by the fact that men outnumber women by 20.7% to 14.8% in cluster 4, in which they show fairly high interest in all topics except the exhibition system. Since our question asked the degree to which artists "keep up on" these topics, one explanation for the differences between men and women may be the availability of time to pursue their art-related interests. Men are more likely to have full-time jobs. Men are also more likely to be full-time (in terms of hours devoted to art work) artists. While the latter condition may imply greater interest, it also means less time for peripheral activities.

Topics and Race

There are three clusters where white and nonwhite artists differ significantly; (1) disinterest (cluster 1) where nonwhites are more likely to appear by a 9.6% to 4.1% margin; (2) low interest (cluster 2) where the nonwhites lead is 17.6% to 10.2%; and (3) generally high interest except for the exhibition system (cluster 4) where whites lead nonwhites 18.8% to 8.5%. These results suggest that white artists are somewhat more likely to pursue outside topics than nonwhite artists. (Table 14, Appendix F) One possible explanation for this result is that many (probably most) of the relevant media material on the relevant subjects is slanted toward majority (white) art and art interests. Similarly, the overwhelming majority of exhibition spaces are not oriented toward minority art, which gives nonwhite artists, who are more likely to be interested in minority art, less opportunity to pursue the local scene, local shows, etc.

Topics and Art Education

Generally, higher formal art education means higher interest in all of the topics, although differences are sometimes small (Table 15, Appendix F). It appears that formal education provides some desire or interest in pursuing the topics included on our list. It could be the result of enlightened self interest (if we know more about these topics, we will be better artists) or a habit resulting from more education which often means a greater propensity to pursue information.

Sources of Information Used for Topics

Just as we examined where artists got information about the factors they considered important in finding exhibition space, we also investigated the sources of information about art-related interests. The grounds for this interest are the same. Information sources help to define the networks in which artists operate and how they use those networks in relationship to their art. In subsequent sections of this Chapter we will examine how efforts, considerations, topics and information networks relate to each other, and to the exhibition experience and sales success the artist has achieved.

The information sources used for this analysis are listed below:

INFORMATION SOURCES

1. National journals
2. Local journals and newsletters
3. Local artists
4. Local friends (not artists)
5. Local newspapers
6. Newspapers from outside areas
7. Local art schools and art departments
8. Local museums and art centers
9. Local alternative spaces
10. Outside exhibitors
11. Professional meetings and conferences
12. Artists from out of town
13. Information centers
14. Other media
15. Personal knowledge
16. Other

Table 6.7 shows the distribution of sources across each of the topics listed in the survey. Because the topics examined here are much broader than those examined for considerations, we expect a more diverse set of sources. Although this expectation is fulfilled, there is still substantial reliance on other artists as a source of relevant information. As might be expected

TABLE 6.7. Topics of Interest by Sources of Information

	National Journals %	Local Journals %	Local Artists %	Local Friends %	Local Papers %	Outside Papers %	Local Schools %	Local Museums and Art Centers %	Local Alternative Spaces %	Outside Exhibitors %	Professional Meetings %	Outside Artists %	Information Centers %	Other Media %	Personal Knowledge %	Other %	ROW TOTAL % (N)*
Local Artist Ideas	9.7	14.3	34.2	1.2	10.3	0.4	3.6	16.2	2.9	1.1	3.0	1.3	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	100.0 (1021
Major Market Ideas	66.2	2.4	2.9	0.7	3.3	6.1	1.3	3.2	0.1	1.7	2.0	5.7	0.3	1.3	2.2	0.4	100.0 (960)
Art Criticism	47.8	6.7	7.2	2.6	14.2	3.5	4.7	3.3	- -	0.8	3.1	1.2	- -	4.5	0.1	- -	100.0 (932)
Local Art Scene	0.8	17.8	33.3	2.4	22.9	0.6	3.0	13.5	1.7	0.9	1.0	- -	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.3	100.0 (1000
Local Shows	0.9	20.7	15.5	2.3	37.0	0.7	1.6	15.2	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.2	0.3	1.4	0.8	0.1	100.0 (1005
National Shows	67.9	2.2	3.2	1.0	6.9	7.3	0.7	3.8	0.2	0.5	1.1	3.1	0.2	0.8	0.6	0.2	100.0 (962)
Exhibition System	8.6	7.5	47.8	2.9	1.4	0.7	4.1	5.8	0.3	3.2	8.7	5.5	0.3	1.2	0.8	- -	100.0 (739)
Art History	32.6	1.8	3.2	1.6	1.0	0.3	17.3	13.9	0.4	0.6	6.5	0.9	0.2	17.9	1.0	- -	100.0 (839)
Other	14.1	6.0	7.9	6.8	- -	1.5	2.7	3.0	- -	1.2	5.3	1.5	4.2	39.8	4.4	1.5	100.0 (86)

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample.

local artists are the primary source for information about the latest ideas and developments of other local artists (34.27%) and the local art scene (33.3%). Local artist are overwhelmingly the most popular source about the system of getting exhibited, 47.8% to only 8.7% for the next most used source (professional meetings).

National journals are the most important source on four of the topics: (1) the latest ideas and developments in the major art markets (66.2%); (2) art criticism and aesthetics (47.8%); (3) shows at important national spaces (67.9%); and (4) art history (32.6%). In the first three categories only local papers (14.2% of the artists use this source for information on criticism and aesthetics)rivals the national journals as a significant source of information. For art history, local schools (17.3%) and local museums and art centers (13.9%) are also relatively important sources.

For only one topic is a source other than national journals and other artists the most important. Thirty-seven percent of the artists look to local newspapers for information on what is being shown in important local spaces. Local papers are also an important source of information about the local art scene (22.9%). Local journals (other than newspapers) play a significant role for some topics also. Twenty point seven percent of the artists look to local journals as the major source for information on important local shows; 17.8% use these journals for information on the local art scene; and 14.3 percent use them for information on the latest ideas and developments of other artists in the local areas.

Cluster analysis was used to identify patterns of information sources. The clusters are based on the number of times each source was used regardless of the topic to which it was applied.* Seven clusters were identified and are described below:**

(1)	Non-users of most or all sources. These artists are primarily those who keep up on little if any of the topics.	19.6%
(2)	Artists who used national journals and, to some extent, local journals.	17.3%
(3)	Artists who relied primarily on local journals.	9.4%
(4)	Artists who used both national and local artists.	12.0%
(5)	Artists who relied primarily on local newspapers.	12.3%
(6)	Artists who used national journals and local museums and art centers.	14.3%
(7)	Artists who used national journals and local artists.	16.1%

Unlike the analysis of consideration sources, this clustering reveals groups which differ in the source of their information as well as the extent of its use. This is a natural outcome of the wider variety of sources used for topics than for considerations (which focused almost exclusively on other artists and personal knowledge). Artists were also very evenly divided across clusters, with a range of 9.4% to 19.6%.

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*The fact that sources are categorical prevented inclusion of topic by source comparisons as one factor in the analysis. The range of responses in this analysis is 0 (if the source was never cited) to 9 (if the same source was used for all topics). The clusters identify artists who used the same sources the same number of times (roughly), but not necessarily for the same topics.

**See Table 16, Appendix F for a complete presentation of cluster means.

The common thread for four clusters (2, 4, 6, and 7) was national journals, although cluster 2 was closer to exclusive reliance on national journals than the other three. There is one group of artists who seem very oriented toward other artists for their information (cluster 3). Given the topics being considered, it is possible to hypothesize that this group is oriented toward oral as opposed to written communication, and adheres to this orientation despite its apparent unappropriateness for many situations. Another group focuses on local newspapers (cluster 5), which leads to the speculation that this group is more locally oriented than other groups (since the sources of information for national topics were seldom local newspapers). We will examine some of these relationships in the next section when we compare information networks, efforts, considerations and topics.

An effort to describe the relationship between topic information sources and art form produced a statistically insignificant outcome suggesting that art form is not a basis for choosing sources or forming information networks (Table 17, Appendix F). Each artistic group looks to the same type of source (if not the same specific instrument - e.g., journal) to find information relevant to each topic cluster.

INTEGRATING THE EXHIBITION PROCESS

Efforts, considerations, sources of information, and, to some extent, topics and sources of topical information are all dimensions of the process by which artists attempt to have their work exhibited. Efforts are the behavioral component because they represent what artists do to have their work exhibited. Considerations are the cognitive side of the process from the artists' perspective because they represent what the artists are presumably thinking when they choose a particular strategy for getting their work exhibited. Topics are another cognitive dimension which can inform considerations and the artists' general perspective about art and the art system in which they operate. Information provides the raw material which is combined with perspectives already held, processed, and translated into decisions (behavior). In our analysis, information had two elements, source and breadth.*

A simplified diagram of this process is presented in Figure 6.1.

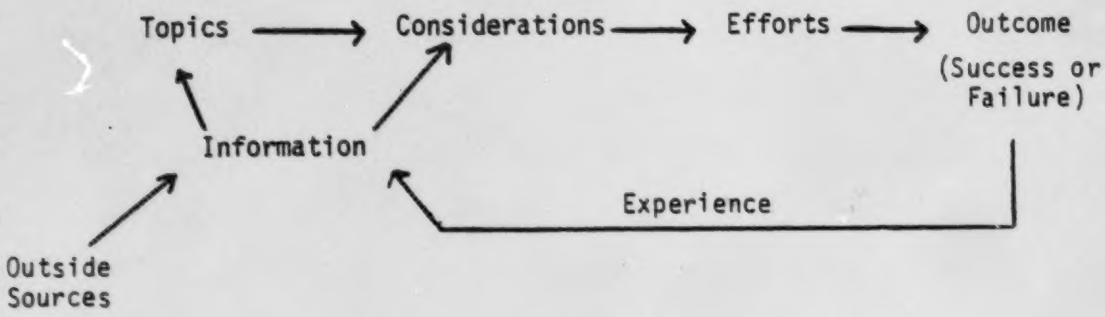
Topics
Considerations
Efforts
Outcome
(Success or Failure)
Information
Experience
Outside Sources

Figure 6.1

The Process of Getting Exhibited
(from the Artist's Perspective)

Among the most important of these factors not represented in this model are the veracity of the artists perception and information about how the system works and the quality of the artist's work.* Much of the artist's perception of how the system works is contained in the choice of considerations, which reflect what artists think is important in getting their work exhibited.

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*It was not possible, within the limits of the questionnaire, to identify other elements, like volume and content

Given this simple model of the process we are able to use available data to analyze some of the relationships among its components. This analysis is done only in pairwise steps because of the nature of the data, nominal rather than hierarchical, and the size of the cells.**

In Table 6.8 we show the relationship between considerations and topics of interest. This represents the cognitive part of the model. The initial significant outcome we notice is that the majority (52.4%) of those who are disinterested in the various art topics also do not show interest in exhibition considerations. This relationship is evident elsewhere as well. For example, about a quarter (24.9%) of the artists with low overall interest in topics (cluster 2) also pay little attention to most considerations (cluster 2). Artists with high interest in all topics (cluster 3) are most likely to consider a wide variety of factors in

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*While we are able to discuss some perception of artists and exhibitors about the workings of the selection system we cannot make direct linkages for individual artists. Thus, we do not know if a particular artists has an appropriate perception given their position in the system. We do know, however, that there are some differences in perceptions between artists and exhibitors. We also know that artists hold a variety of attitudes about what the system should be like, which can alter how they will react to information and even what information they seek. Finally, we know that artists objectives are not uniform (also, often not internally consistent or consistant over time) and that different objectives can modify the content and use of other factors in the decision process, like efforts, considerations, and information sources.

**Multiple splits of the clusters would result in too many empty or nearly empty cells to be reliable or to permit examination of all of the potentially relevant categories.

TABLE 6.8. Artists' Considerations Regarding Exposure Opportunities by Topics of Interest*

CONSIDERATION Cluster	TOPICS CLUSTERS None; No Answer %	Low Interest in Local Artists and Art Scene %	Substantial Interest in All Topics %	Moderate Interest in All Topics but the Exhibition System %	Moderate Interest in All Topics but Art History %	Low to Moderate Interest in All Topics %	High Interest in Local Spaces; Moderate Interest in Other Topics Except Exhibition System and Art History %	ROW TOTAL %
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	52.4	9.5	4.5	8.5	2.5	1.6	15.4	7.9
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	17.4	24.9	5.2	16.1	13.5	8.2	29.3	12.6
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	4.7	7.6	33.3	18.4	21.4	22.0	0.0	21.6
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	19.0	10.3	3.3	3.6	6.4	3.2	40.8	6.6
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	2.1	14.9	16.2	18.2	14.9	15.2	0.0	14.8
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	2.1	17.5	6.1	17.9	12.2	17.2	10.8	12.0
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	2.4	15.3	31.4	17.4	29.0	32.7	3.7	24.6
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (363)	100.0 (206)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 454.859 with 36 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

attempting to find exhibition space (cluster 3).* About 40% of the artists with interests only in what is being shown in local shows (a narrow set of interests - cluster 7) also focus their considerations on the quality and reputation of the space being considered (cluster 4). As a general characterization of this relationship it would be reasonable to conclude that broader topical interests are likely to accompany considerations of a large number of factors in choosing possible exhibition spaces. This relationship suggests a way of thinking about art more than a particular substantive approach. Artists with narrow considerations, e.g., clusters 4 and 6, do not adhere to any specific topics cluster. Thus, it is difficult to establish a substantive, by category of interest, relationship from these data.

The second step in our model (Figure 1) is the relationship between considerations and efforts. Before examining the empirical relationship we would like to caution that the linkages between elements of these two dimensions may be very complex. An artist may consider many aspects of finding an exhibition space and end up either calling for appointments or waiting for an invitation. The intervening factors include experience, exhibition history, personality, confidence, and possibly even physical limitations (e.g., no car). Readers can construct similar possible alternative explanations across clusters for themselves. Given these problems the analysis presented here can only be considered as exploratory We have no convincing theory for predicting the relationships and there is no other empirical evidence from which to induce such a theory.

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*Although they are almost as likely (33.3% to 31.4%) to focus on the quality of the work shown in prospective spaces (considerations cluster 7)

Table 6.9 presents results of the comparison of consideration clusters and effort clusters. Over half (57.2%) of the artists who do not consider anything also do not do anything about getting exhibited (cluster 1 and cluster 1). Given the similar result in comparing considerations and topics, it seems safe to assume the existence of a block of largely disinterested artists who neither care nor do anything relevant in the broader art system. Support for this interpretation is provided in Tables 18 and 19, Appendix F, which show that artists who exercise low effort to get exhibited (clusters 1, 2 and, to some degree, 5 in Table 18) and artists who are unlikely to consider many factors in trying to get exhibited (clusters 1 and 2 in Table 19) are less likely to put substantial time into their art work (measured in average hours per week). For all 5 of these clusters substantially more than half the artists devote no more than 20 hours per week to their art work.

Other artists who consider no factors are likely to show by invitation (14.7%) or by invitation and personal relationships (11.0%) (Table 6.9). If these artists are well established in their exhibition relationships, it might reasonably be argued that substantial considerations are not really required. Other artists in these efforts categories (efforts clusters 4 and 5) are widely dispersed across consideration clusters, suggesting that operating in these modes is not strongly influenced by the pattern of considerations used by the artist.

About a third (33.4%) of the artists who are likely to consider many factors (cluster 3) exert their primary efforts through personal relations and by invitation. Only 2.1% of this group are in the invitation only cluster (4). A similar pattern exists for cluster 6 (28.9% and 4.7%)

TABLE 6.9. Artists' Efforts by Considerations in Seeking Exposure Opportunities*

	CONSIDERATION CLUSTERS							
EFFORTS Cluster	Considered None of Them; No Answer	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	ROW TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. No Effort; No Answer	57.2	10.1	2.3	17.6	3.8	6.0	2.3	9.3
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	8.8	28.1	17.9	16.2	12.1	23.2	19.4	18.5
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	11.0	16.5	33.4	17.5	38.0	28.9	29.6	27.7
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	14.7	13.2	2.1	24.8	10.7	4.7	4.4	8.
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	5.5	7.2	2.3	13.8	1.3	4.7	2.9	4.
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	1.4	11.8	18.7	6.7	22.6	5.3	12.3	13.
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	1.4	13.0	23.2	3.4	11.4	27.3	29.0	19.1
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (92)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (173)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (288)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 491.32422 with 35 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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and cluster 7 (29.6% and 4.4%), which are the other high considerations clusters. Artists who wait for invitations do not comprise important parts of clusters which consider a variety of factors. They are more important in clusters of artists who focus on specific aspects of the system, like upcoming events or the reputation of the space. Artists who have or seek agreements with a dealer (efforts cluster 6) have a similar, but less pronounced, pattern. For both the invitation and agreement artists a narrower considerations perspective seems like a reasonable finding. On the other hand, artists who may be trying to exhibit across a wider band of alternatives or who have a more competitive exhibition status (i.e., they have no dealer and cannot afford to wait for invitations), are more likely to be represented in the high considerations clusters. Such a group is represented in efforts cluster 7 whose members are over represented on all three of the high considerations clusters (3, 6, and 7). The same analytic perspective was applied in comparing efforts clusters to topics clusters (Table 20, Appendix F). The outcome was also similar. Artists uninterested in the various art topics (cluster 1) were also unlikely to use substantial effort to get exhibited (cluster 1). Over a third (35.4%) of those uninterested in art topics were also nonparticipants in efforts. An additional 21.7 percent of the uninterested artists and 29.9 percent of artists with low interests (cluster 7) were likely to use appointments with dealers (the telephone version of door-to-door) and entering competitions (cluster 2) as their primary vehicle for exhibition. This suggests a lack of information and/or experience. Finally, 20.2 percent of the uninterested artists exhibited by invitation only, perhaps indicating no need to follow art-related topics.

Artists with high overall topic interest (cluster 3) were more likely to appear in the invitation and personal relationship cluster (cluster 3 - 30.4%) or the juried competition/gallery membership cluster (cluster 7 - 25.6%). A similar pattern exists for artists who have a moderate interest in all topics (cluster 6). These results parallel those obtained for considerations, where a high interest in a variety of considerations was more likely to appear among cluster 3 and cluster 7 artists. A possible explanation is that these artists may be in a more competition mode than other groups. To come to this conclusion it is necessary to work backward through the other efforts clusters. Cluster 1 artists exert no efforts therefore are less likely to be concerned about considerations or topics. Cluster 2 artists (appointments and competitions) appear to be less experienced and may not be aware of the value or sources of relevant information. Cluster 4 artists (by invitation) are perhaps beyond having wide concerns and are focussing on their careers and the quality of the space in which they show. Cluster 5 artists (competition, cooperative gallery membership, and to some extent, by invitation) are probably the exceptions to the rule because there is no real indication that theirs is a secure position beyond the possibility that the cooperative situation is very satisfying for them. Cluster 6 artists (primarily stable artists) appear to be in a relatively secure position as well. Thus, artists in the least stable conditions may be more concerned about the amount and variety of information they receive, factors they consider, and efforts they make to get exhibited. As stability increases so does the desire for and use of information about exhibition processes.

The analysis of information sources (networks) provides much less complicated results. As Table 6.10 shows, those artists who consider few factors in choosing places in which to exhibit are very likely to make

TABLE 6.10. Artists' Considerations by Networks Used for Obtaining Information Regarding Exposure Opportunities

		NETWORK CLUSTERS						
Cluster	Little Use of Networks %	Self-Reliant %	Other Artists, Publications, Self-Reliant %	Other Artists %	Show's Exhibitor %	Other Artists and Self-Reliant %	Friends and Self-Reliant %	ROW TOTAL % N
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 (92)
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	84.7	2.8	6.0	0.9	0.9	1.0	3.7	100.0 (147)
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	5.7	14.6	10.7	18.6	22.1	21.6	6.7	100.0 (253)
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	71.4	6.5	12.3	1.7	1.7	6.3	0.0	100.0 (77)
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	12.7	23.9	15.3	5.1	16.0	21.7	6.2	100.0 (173)
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	32.1	11.6	26.7	7.6	6.5	13.2	2.3	100.0 (141)
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	7.3	14.7	16.9	12.5	18.3	23.8	6.5	100.0 (283)

Chi Square = 710.238 with 36 degrees Freedom

Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

little use of information networks, as in clusters 1, 2, and 4. As the number of factors considered increases, so does the likelihood that artists will use one of a number of different sources, although not necessarily a variety of sources. Considerations cluster 3 artists, for example, are likely to review a variety of factors, but are more likely to appear in information source clusters 5 or 6 (23.1% and 21.6%), which are relatively narrow sources, than they are to appear in cluster 3 (14.6%), which has a much wider range of sources. Thus, broad interest in considerations does not mean that they seek a variety of sources, but only that they seek some source. This could have important implications for the quality of information received.

A similar pattern exists in the relationship between efforts and considerations networks (Table 21, Appendix F). Those artists operating in what are apparently more competitive modes (clusters 3 and 7) are more likely to use one of a number of different sources, while those in an uncompetitive mode (clusters 1, 2, 4, and 5) have larger proportions of artists who make little or no use of networks. The exception to this pattern is cluster 6 (composed of artists with dealer agreements) whose artists might choose any of the sources (although self reliance, which is not really a network source is the modal choice - 22.2%). Among artists in efforts clusters which use a variety of sources, (3 and 7) there is no clear favorite.

For the interested reader Appendix F contains three additional tables comparing clusters. These include: (1) information sources about topics by topic clusters (Table 22); (2) considerations clusters by information sources about topics (Table 23); and (3) efforts clusters by information sources about topics (Table 24). Because these tables are of marginal interest to the focus of this Chapter they will not be discussed here.

Instead, in the remainder of the Chapter we turn our attention to the relationship of cluster membership to exhibition patterns, exhibition success, and art income.

MODES OF OPERATION, PATTERNS OF EXHIBITION, AND SUCCESS

The final element in our simplified model of the process of getting exhibited, Figure 6.1, is a problematic outcome, success. All of the activities (or lack of activity) in which artists engage are directed toward two overlapping goals: exhibiting their work under the most favorable circumstances and selling their work.* In the previous sections of this Chapter we examined the characteristics of these efforts and their interelationship. In Chapter 5 we described patterns of exhibition and some of the individual characteristics and economic outcomes associated with these patterns. In this section we attempt to tie the process to the outcomes by looking at the relationship of efforts and considerations to exhibition pattern, relative success and income earned from the sale of art.

We have already taken several occassions to discuss the shortcomings of our information and its affect on our ability to specify the impact of all factors influencing exhibition success. Most notable among unmeasurable factors were the quality of the artists work and the extent to which efforts and considerations were uniformly applied. Despite these problems we have been able to identify reasonable patterns within the exhibition process. At this point we extend those analysis to include outcomes (exhibition success and income) which are at least partially the results of earlier activities.

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*There are two qualifications. First, "favorable" is a term defined by the artist with the obvious influence of system factors. Second, not all artists try to "sell" their work, although the exceptions may exist more as romantic figments of our imagination than as a significant element in the artist population.

Considerations and Exposure Pattern

Artists who are unlikely to consider any factors when attempting to exhibit (cluster 1) are also unlikely to have had many exhibits during the three years prior to answering the survey (Table 6.11). Over 35 percent are in exposure cluster 1 and 17.7 percent are in cluster 7, both of which are very low in total exhibits. For artists with very low considerations (with a slight focus on upcoming events or competitions) 55.5 percent have a very low level exhibition record (cluster 1) and 16.3 percent only a modest record (cluster 7). Similarly, of those artists who focus almost exclusively on the reputation of the space and the quality of work shown in the prospective space (cluster 4), 47.2 percent have a very low exhibition record (cluster 1) and 15.6 percent have only a modest record (cluster 5). Artists who are not concerned about the potential exhibition spaces are not showing. Artists with a wide range of considerations (cluster 3) are more likely than average to have more shows as represented in clusters 2 and 3, but they are not more likely to be other higher prestige exposure clusters (like 8 and 9). The strong relationship between low considerations and exhibition pattern is not complimented by similarly strong relationships between high considerations and more or better exhibits. Nor is there a strong relationship between

TABLE 6.11. Exposure Patterns by Artists' Considerations Regarding Exposure Opportunities*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	CONSIDERATIONS CLUSTERS Considered None of Them; No Answer	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	ROW TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Low Exhibitions	35.9	55.5	27.4	47.2	31.3	34.1	30.0	34.9
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	11.9	7.3	18.1	10.	16.4	9.9	11.5	12.9
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	9.9	1.8	8.4	7.0	4.8	4.2	5.8	5.9
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	2.3	5.3	4.3	0.0	2.1	7.7	10.9	5.7
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	9.1	3.9	6.9	5.6	9.3	7.9	7.7	7.3
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternatives, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	4.1	1.6	4.2	0.0	0.7	4.7	4.8	3.3
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	17.7	16.3	19.2	15.6	17.0	16.5	19.0	17.8
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	0.0	0.7	2.7	0.0	0.6	1.8	1.1	1.3
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	7.5	5.3	7.7	12.7	17.8	11.1	7.5	9.6
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	1.1	2.4	1.0	1.3	0.0	2.1	1.7	1.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0. (92)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (173)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (298)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 123.89433 with 54 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

considerations and exhibition patterns which are more focussed on types of exhibits (like exposure clusters 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10.

In Table 6.12 the relationship between considerations and the quality of the exposure record is somewhat more consistantly displayed. Those with few considerations (clusters 1 and 2) are more likely to be in the lower two weighted exposure groups, while those with more and broader considerations interests (clusters 3, 5, and 7) are more likely to appear in the higher two weighted exposure clusters. As previous analysis has shown part of this relationship seems to be the result of interest. Another factor is time, although it is unclear if the association of time and exposure is the result of limitations placed by jobs or similar demands, or just a function of interest.* The causal relationship between considerations and exposure is also unresolved by these data. It is unclear how more or broader considerations could lead directly to more exposure, although it could lead to a different type of exposure, e.g., higher quality exhibits, or, given the same amount of effort, more exposure because efforts were targeted better. Table 6.11 does not identify any differences of this type.** It is possible to argue that a better exhibition record (success), however, could increase interest and thus cause artists to be more concerned about where they show. The positive

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*The causal patterns which may be operating are:

(1) $$\begin{tikzcd} \text{job (etc.)} \arrow[r] & \text{time} \arrow[r] \arrow[dr] & \text{exposure} \\ & & \text{considerations} \end{tikzcd}$$

OR

(2) $$\begin{tikzcd} \text{interest} \arrow[r] \arrow[dr] & \text{considerations} \\ & \text{exposure} \end{tikzcd}$$

**Our data on the quality of exhibits are not sensitive enough to idencify many of these differences, e.g., in the quality of different private gallery show

TABLE 6.12. Weighted Exhibition Record by Artists Considerations Regarding Exposure

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	CONSIDERATIONS CLUSTERS							ROW TOTAL
	Considered None of Them; No Answer	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0 - 10	42.4	47.6	16.3	35.1	15.8	35.0	25.3	27.9
11 - 20	27.0	26.6	27.4	34.1	21.4	29.1	29.3	27.5
21 - 30	13.3	16.6	25.1	20.6	25.9	19.0	19.4	21.0
31 - 40	11.9	5.8	16.4	4.9	14.8	10.2	15.0	12.6
41 or more	9.3	3.3	13.7	5.3	22.1	6.7	11.0	10.9
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (32)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (173)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (288)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 113.44780 with 23 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on weighted sample

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correlation between weighted exhibition record and considerations (Table 6.12) provides some support for this argument.

Information Networks and Exposure Pattern

The pattern of exhibitions may also predict the use of information networks (for considerations). Table 6.13 shows this relationship. Artists who showed little interest in information (cluster 1) were most likely (45.5%) to have a very poor exhibition record (exposure cluster 1). Those who relied on non-artists friends and themselves (information cluster 7) were almost as likely (41.5%) to have a poor exhibition record. The former group may be disinterested, while the latter appears more inexperienced. Artists whose primary source is themselves (self reliant) are most likely to have shown in large group museums (21.7%), public space or private gallery (16.2%) shows (exposure clusters 2 and 7).*

Artists with the broadest range of information sources (cluster 3) are more likely to have had shows in cooperatives, alternative spaces, and other spaces (exposure clusters 4 and 6) than most other information clusters, although the total proportions in these clusters are only 9.8 percent and 8.2 percent respectively.** Viewed across all exposure clusters, however, these artists are widely distributed and characterized by the absence of strong association with a particular exposure cluster.

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*Although they do not dominate the latter group.

**It should be kept in mind that these are relative figures. The statistical significance is a function of the degree to which cell values are different from expected values using column and row totals. Our analysis follows this model in that we cite cell percentages that are most different from expected values as represented by the (in this case) overall row proportion. This does not mean the relationships represent the most common exposure cluster proportion, but that it is most different from expected values. As is evident in reviewing the Table (6.13) the most frequent exposure cluster for all information clusters is number 1. This is because there is a very large (34.9%) proportion of all artists in this group.

Artists who rely primarily on other artists (information cluster 4) are overrepresented in exposure cluster 4 (dominated by large group shows in cooperatives or alternative spaces) and exposure cluster 5 (one person and small group shows in public spaces). These clusters may be dominated by artists who are relatively low in experience. Their shows are generally not high status and their low experience level may be reflected in reliance on other artists rather than themselves or the media or some combination of sources. Artists relying on other artists and themselves (information cluster 6) are overrepresented in exposure cluster 9 (artists who have small group museum and one person private gallery shows). However, when one compares the overall distribution (across all exposure clusters) for information clusters 3, 4, and 6 there are no striking differences (any statistically significant differences not withstanding).

Perhaps the most noticable difference in exhibition patterns (aside from artists who do not use external networks) occurs for artists whose primary source of information are target exhibitors (cluster 5). Over a quarter (26.4%) of these artists appear in exposure cluster 7 (artists with a relative small number of shows focussing on large group shows in museums, public spaces and private galleries). There is nothing in the exhibition composition of this cluster to suggest why those using exhibitors as the primary source of information should belong to this group. In fact, their lack of experience might suggest just the opposite.

When information networks are compared directly to weighted exhibition record (Table 6.14) some more distinctive patterns appear. As expected artists operating outside information networks are more likely to have low level exhibition records. Those who are self reliant are much less likely to be in the 0-10 level (only 15.9 percent appear in this level compared to 42.7 percent for the non-participators), but about equally likely to appear

TABLE 6.13. Exposure Patterns by Networks Used for Information Regarding Exposure Opportunities*

	NETWORK CLUSTERS							
	Little Use of Networks %	Self-Reliant %	Other Artists, Publications, Self-Reliant %	Other Artists %	Show's Exhibitor %	Other Artists and Self-Reliant %	Friends and Self-Reliant %	ROW TOTAL %
1. Low Exhibitions	45.5	27.1	30.6	32.9	28.0	27.8	41.5	34.9
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	10.3	21.7	9.2	15.6	16.7	11.4	7.8	12.9
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	4.5	10.2	5.6	3.4	5.7	5.4	9.8	5.9
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	4.3	2.5	9.8	11.7	4.8	6.6	0.0	5.7
5. One Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	5.5	6.4	7.8	10.6	8.5	7.5	10.0	7.3
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternatives, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	2.6	3.0	8.2	0.0	1.3	5.2	0.0	3.3
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	16.4	16.2	15.2	16.4	26.4	19.3	10.1	17.8
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	0.7	0.9	0.8	2.4	2.2	1.5	1.8	1.3
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One Person Private Gallery Shows	8.9	11.0	9.3	7.0	5.5	12.9	13.9	9.6
10. One Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	1.1	1.0	1.3	0.0	0.9	2.3	5.1	1.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (375)	100.0 (145)	100.0 (158)	100.0 (105)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 117.52313 with 54 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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TABLE 6.14. Weighted Exhibition Record by Networks Used for Information Regarding Exposure Opportunities*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	NETWORK CLUSTERS							
	Little Use of Networks %	Self-Reliant %	Other Artists Publications Self-Reliant %	Other Artists %	Show's Exhibitor %	Other Artists and Self-Reliant %	Friends and Self-Reliant %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	42.7	15.9	28.3	30.9	15.6	15.6	26.6	27.9
11 - 20	26.6	26.4	28.0	23.6	26.4	33.1	26.3	27.5
21 - 30	16.7	21.3	23.1	21.6	24.9	23.3	24.4	21.0
31 - 40	7.6	14.2	13.8	12.8	19.8	14.2	14.3	12.6
41 or more	6.3	22.2	6.8	11.1	13.3	13.7	8.3	10.9
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (375)	100.0 (145)	100.0 (158)	100.0 (105)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 107.211 with 24 degrees of freedom.

Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample

at each of the other levels (26.4%, 21.3%, 14.2%, and 22.2%). There is is a logic which fits this distribution, especially the fact that self-reliant artists have a higher proportion at the highest exposure level than any other cluster. Self reliant artists can be independent because they have sufficient experience to ignore most of the outside sources. As experience and success increase the need for outside information decreases, thus increasing the opportunity to be self reliant. Obviously, the fact that a significant proportion of these artists appear at the lower exposure levels as well is evidence that not all artists have reached this comfortable position. Those who are unsuccessful and still rely on their own "knowledge" of the exhibition system might stay unsuccessful.

Artists who rely primarily on exhibitors (cluster 5) or other artists plus themselves (cluster 6) are also unlikely to be in the lowest exhibition level and most likely to be in the second level (11-20), but after that have a decreasing likelihood to appear at each higher level (unlike the self reliant artists). In the other three clusters, which include artists with a wide variety of sources (cluster 3) and a very narrow variety (cluster 4), there is a single general distribution in which the largest proportion is at the lowest exposure level and lowest is at the highest exposure level. Those artists in cluster 3 (broadest variety of sources) are least likely to be in the upper two exposure levels (with the exception of artist who do not use information-cluster 1). These results are not incongruent with a scenerio in which artists begin with little knowledge of outside sources. As experience increases some artists continually expand sources until they achieve a certain level of success and knowledge of the system, at which time they focus on a narrower set of information sources. Another group identifies a comfortable (functional) narrow band of sources and stays with it throughout their careers. It seems unlikely that artists who are truly "self reliant" will progress easily into high success levels without diversions into other modes of information collection. A similar argument applies to artists who appear to be outside the system; those who are successful probably developed in other categories before dropping out. Those who simply don't care are less likely to ever achieve success as it is measured here.*

Efforts and Exposure Patterns

In Table 6.15 we see the relationship of exhibition patterns and efforts to get exhibited. Efforts are the manifestation of considerations within a context of the artists ability, experience, art form, gender, race, and a variety of other, as yet unspecified, factors. Because there is obvious interaction between considerations and efforts we expect the analysis of efforts and outcomes (exposure) to add to our understanding of the exhibition process.

Most of those who make no effort do not exhibit. A few in each exposure cluster seem to have some success despite little or no effort, probably as a result of reputation and, in some cases, blind luck.

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*This model, while partially supported by the data, obviously extends beyond the limits of the statistical analysis performed here. While we would like the opportunity to apply multivariate techniques, bringing in such variables as experience, art form, art education, some of the relevant (based on bivariate analyses) demographics, and other clusters, the extensive use of categorical data as both dependent and independent variables, does not accomodate such an approach. Nor does the size of our sample permit further control through cross tabulation.

TABLE 6.15 Exposure Patterns by Artists' Efforts to Obtain Exposure*

	EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	EFFORTS CLUSTERS							
		No Effort; No Answer %	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition %	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships %	Virtually all Exhibits by Invitation Only %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only %	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, w/Moderate Efforts in Other Areas %	ROW TOTAL %
1.	Low Exhibitions	54.5	53.9	27.6	39.5	39.5	14.7	28.5	34.9
2.	Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	6.6	7.1	18.4	7.7	20.3	15.9	12.2	12.9
3.	High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	6.0	4.9	5.0	3.8	5.2	11.2	5.6	5.9
4.	Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	2.4	2.9	1.0	0.0	14.5	2.1	19.9	5.7
5.	One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	4.4	7.5	9.0	13.0	2.0	3.0	7.6	7.3
6.	Large Group in Traditional, Alternatives, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	2.3	4.2	1.0	1.4	2.0	1.0	8.8	3.3
7.	Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	17.5	11.3	25.5	15.5	11.9	23.2	11.6	17.8
8.	High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	0.0	0.6	1.7	1.0	0.0	2.8	1.2	1.3
9.	Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	5.4	7.1	7.7	17.1	2.6	26.1	3.8	9.6
10.	One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	0.9	0.5	3.1	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.9	1.4
	COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (217)	100.0 (324)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (154)	100.0 (224)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 352.47534 with 54 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Those whose most important, though still very moderate efforts, are through open competitions and making the rounds (with appointments) of dealers are almost as unsuccessful as artists making no effort. Over half are in the cluster which shows least exhibition success (exposure cluster 1). In addition to being less successful, these artists are somewhat less experienced (in number of years as a professional artist - Table 25, Appendix F) and somewhat less educated (less likely to have a Master's degree) (see Table 4, Appendix F) than the average artist.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are artists whose primary mode of obtaining exhibitions was through agreement(s) with a dealer (efforts cluster 6). Only 14.7 percent of these artists are in the least successful exposure cluster. Twenty-six point one percent are in exposure cluster 9 where the primary exposure mode is small group museum and one person/small group private gallery shows. They are also more numerous than any other group in exposure clusters 3 and 7, which are the highly active exhibitors. Finally, they are the second most active group in cluster 7 which is a somewhat inactive large group show cluster. Overall, artists with dealer agreements seem to be the most successful even though a substantial proportion of their success is through a single mode of exhibition, commercial galleries.

Despite the distinctiveness of their exposure pattern, the results associated with dealer agreements tell us less about process than we might like to know. Dealer agreements represent a condition as much or more than a process. We have little information about how such agreements were obtained. The one piece of evidence we do have is that artists with dealer agreements are also more likely to use personal relationships as a means of getting exhibited than most other artists (Table 1, Appendix F). Artists whose efforts focus on invitation and personal relationships (cluster 3), even more than cluster 6 artists, are less likely to be successful than cluster 6 artists, and their success is likely to be in less prestigious spaces and in large group shows. Thus the personal relationship approach is not a guarantee of success and we are still unable to determine why one group has apparent success using this approach while another does not.

Almost 40 percent of those artists whose only "effort" is by invitation (cluster 4) have a very poor exhibition record (exposure cluster 1). There were artists in the group discussions who expressed an attitude which may reflect this group. Some were rejecting the "hustling" and commercial aspects of trying to get a show and were resolved to wait for discovery. Others really could not be bothered by trying to exhibit and an occasional call to appear in a show was sufficient. This group could probably be characterized as being either part-time artists or operating in semi-retirement. The former group were more likely to be young radicals, who were rebelling against the biases they perceived in the current system.

The final major group had a broad range of efforts but focussed on cooperative gallery membership (also a kind of static indicator), open competition and invitation (efforts cluster 7). This group was over represented in cluster 4, where the primary show type was large group in cooperatives or alternative space (they were 2/3 of this exposure cluster) and cluster 6, where the primary exposure outlet was in "other spaces" (they were over half of the members of this exposure cluster). Because we do not know the relationship between success in open competition and exhibition in other spaces, the apparently reasonable relationship between the efforts of this group and the location of its success are less informative than they might have been.

In Table 6.16 the results of the previous analysis are confirmed and slightly extended. Again, those who did not try (efforts cluster 1) were less likely to exhibit (54.2 percent were in the 0-10 level of weighted exhibition record). Those who entered competitions and made appointments to see dealers without introductions were slightly more successful, but only marginally represented (about 10%) in the two highest exhibition levels. Artists who waited for invitations were likely to have only moderate success, and very unlikely (3.5%) to be in the most successful group. Artists with dealer agreements and those who used both invitation and personal relationships were most successful.

As a further validation of the previous results and in order to focus the general process on a single current event, we examined the relationship of efforts and considerations to how artists were selected for their most recent show, and their considerations with the type of space in which the show was held. While this analysis has the disadvantage of being potentially unrepresentative of a given artists exhibition experience, in the aggregate it provides a reasonable prospective of the status of all artists and a direct linkage of efforts and considerations to a specific event.

Artists who claimed to have exerted little or no effort were most likely to have had their last show in a public space (35.9%). See Table 6.17. Those with low efforts in the direction of competition were also most likely to have used public spaces (29.7%), which may

TABLE 6.16. Weighted Exhibition Record by Artists' Efforts in Seeking Exposure Opportunities*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	EFFORTS CLUSTERS							
	No Effort; No Answer %	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition %	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships %	Virtually all Exhibits by Invitation Only %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only %	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, w/Moderate Efforts in Other Areas %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	54.2	42.7	23.0	23.6	29.	10.1	21.7	27.9
11 - 20	23.7	28.6	24.9	38.8	30.2	18.5	32.8	27.5
21 - 30	12.9	18.0	23.9	17.6	18.7	29.3	20.0	21.0
31 - 40	5.9	6.4	12.7	16.5	9.3	21.4	15.0	12.6
41 or more	3.3	4.3	15.5	3.5	12.5	20.6	10.5	10.9
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (217)	100.0 (324)	100.0 (95)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (154)	100.0 (224)	100.0 (1172)

Chi square = 153.49635 with 24 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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* Totals based on weighted sample

TABLE 6.17. Focus of Recent Show by Artists' Efforts in Seeking Exposure Opportunities*

EFFORTS Cluster	Museum %	Public Space %	Commercial Gallery %	Artist-Run Gallery %	Alternative Space %	Fairs %	Others %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
	TYPE OF SPACE							
1. No Effort; No Answer	2.6	35.9	23.1	20.5	10.2	7.7	2.4	100.0 (39)
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	16.4	29.7	20.9	9.9	11.4	6.5	5.2	100.0 (136)
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	19.7	29.4	21.9	6.1	10.9	7.8	4.2	100.0 (282)
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	20.3	29.6	23.0	7.6	7.3	8.2	4.1	100.0 (81)
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	11.3	42.3	5.4	25.9	2.4	6.6	6.1	100.0 (42)
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	14.4	16.3	56.6	3.7	6.1	0.8	2.1	100.0 (131)
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	10.7	18.7	16.2	33.9	11.6	4.6	4.3	100.0 (204)
COLUMN TOTAL	15.4	26.1	24.8	14.2	9.6	5.8	4.0	100.0 (316)

Chi Square = 235.86 with 42 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

often be the cite of competitive shows. But even artists with a wide range of efforts (cluster 3) or a focus on invitations were more likely to use public space (29.4% and 29.6%) than any other type of space. Only those whose efforts are focussed on dealer agreements (cluster 6) and those whose emphasis is on gallery membership (cooperatives) and juried competition are more likely to have exhibited elsewhere, the former in commercial galleries (56.6%) and the latter in artist run galleries (cooperatives 33.9%).

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Artists who indicated no effort were most likely to have had a commercial gallery agreement (25.6%) or cooperative gallery membership (23.3%) (Table 26, Appendix F). Those with low efforts (cluster 2) were most likely to have received an invitation (36.5%) or had a commercial dealer agreement for their most recent show. However, the former figure is less than the average who exhibited using this technique in their last show. Artists whose efforts focus on invitation and personal relationships (cluster 3) were most likely, of any group, to have received an invitation (59.9%). Those who operate by invitation only (cluster 4) were second most likely to have received an invitation (55.4%). In both these cases the remaining artists were spread broadly across the other selection modes. Artists who were gallery members (cluster 5) were most likely to have exhibited using gallery agreements (43.5%), although it is not clear whether these agreements represented commercial galleries or cooperatives. About half (50.3%) of the artists most likely to have cited commercial dealer agreements received invitations to their most recent shows and another 35.1 percent entered competitions. Of those artists who claimed their primary usual efforts were by competitions (cluster 7) only 2.4 percent got into their last show via the open competition route.

Thirty-five percent were gallery (cooperative) members and 27.3 percent received invitations (an important secondary technique for artists in this cluster). Despite prediction errors, these results seem to show greater congruity between efforts and exhibits than the general results. The congruence does not suggest that efforts alone will result in success at the desired level. Unknown artists waiting for an invitation will probably starve if art is their only means of livelihood. A substantial proportion of the artists seem to understand their level of probable success and, if sampling error due to the selection of a single event is eliminated, the appropriate matches could increase.*

While it was not possible to assess the quality of the space in which artists held their most recent shows, one of the components of weighted exhibition score, type of space, was presented and allowed a very crude approximation. Table 27, Appendix F, shows that about a quarter of the artists had shows in public spaces (26.1%) or in commercial galleries (24.8%). Almost 40 percent of the artists who focussed almost exclusively on quality of work shown and reputation of the space (cluster 4) were shown in public spaces. In contrast 38.3 percent of those who added compatibility of work and the exhibitors agreement with their ideas to that list (cluster 5) showed in a commercial gallery.** Similarly, almost a third (32.5%) who were high in considering all factors (cluster 3) also had their most recent exhibit in a commercial gallery. Artists in these clusters (3 and 5) were also more likely than other artists to have shown in alternative spaces, although only 11.2 percent and 11.9 percent respectively, had this type of exhibit. Artists who considered few if any factors (cluster 1) were most likely to show in artist run galleries (25.8%) and public spaces (21.5%). These results suggest a relationship between considerations and the quality of an exhibition. Those artists considering more factors are more likely to show in commercial galleries or alternative spaces.* Those artists with fewer considerations, even those considering quality of the space and compatibility (clusters 1, 2, 4, and, to some extent, 6) are more likely to have had their most recent show in a public space or artist run gallery (which are usually cooperatives). There are exceptions to the pattern, and there are also wide ranges in the quality of public spaces and cooperatives. The general interpretation is supported by a positive correlation between the breadth of considerations and weighted exhibition record. Thus, while tenuous, the pattern is unmistakable.

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*Care must still be taken to keep from overinterpretating these results. A match between efforts and the most recent show does not necessarily mean the artist is successful. Some of those waiting for invitation may have found a long wait and could face even longer waits in the future.

**On the average, a somewhat more prestigeous show.

Despite the strong linear relationship between exhibition success and some efforts clusters, it is clear that no approach to getting exhibited guarantees success. If the dealer agreement cluster and the no activity cluster are excluded, on the grounds that the former describes an end state rather than a process and the latter represents an absence of activity whose outcome is logically a lack of success, the explanatory power of efforts is significantly diminished. However, efforts still seem to explain more of success than the considerations and information networks which presumably drive the actions taken by artists to get their work exhibited. Process is clearly involved in success, although we are not yet able to specify to what extent. In the abstract, any system which operates with subjectively defined* quality criteria must surely be driven by procedural factors to a large degree. In the art system this means that artists who understand and can manipulate the marketing of their work better than others will have a better chance of success when quality is equal and probably even when the effective marketer produces somewhat lower quality work. Our results provide some support for this hypothesis, although additional work is certainly required to fully explicate the effect.**

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*A relatively constant percentage, 12 percent to 19.6 percentage across consideration clusters, show in museums.

Topics of General Art Information and Exposure Pattern

Tables 28 through 31, Appendix F, present cross tabulations for topics of interest and sources of information on topics by exposure pattern and weighted exhibition record. These results follow the pattern of earlier tables in which artists with low interest (efforts, considerations, sources) were less likely to be successful exhibitors. Since the tables on topics do not significantly expand our understanding of the exhibition process in this context, they will not be described in detail in the text.

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*At least beyond some minimum threshhold.

**We do not think these results are trivial because the nature of the relationships identified in our data extend beyond the obvious relationship of no effort, no show.

Modes of Operation and Economic Success

In Chapter 5 we showed that economic success (art income) and exposure success (weighted exhibition record and to some extent exhibition pattern) were positively related, but, were far from synonymous. Therefore, as the final analysis of this Chapter we will examine the relationship of economic success and methods used attempting to exhibit. Our objective is to identify any additional* patterns which might provide clues about the interaction of process and success.

Artists who exert no effort to get exhibited are much more likely (45.5%) to earn no income than any other group, although some artists who make no effort to exhibit earn substantial art incomes (Table 6.18). Those artists who do earn income despite no exhibition effort may work only on commissions and/or may be receiving the benefit of previous success. Artists who exert little effort (cluster 2) have the same pattern, but with a slightly increased probability of earning some art income. Those in galleries, either commercial (cluster 6) or cooperative (cluster 7), have a much lower probability of earning no art income (18.3 percent and 15.7 percent respectively), but are dissimilar at higher income levels. Those with agreements with commercial dealers are the most successful of all groups 43.4 percent earn over $4,000 in art income per year. Those whose efforts are primarily in open competition and cooperatives are much more likely to earn moderate amounts from their art (only 11.7 percent earn more than $4,000 per year). Artists who concentrate on invitations

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*The target is variance beyond that which has already been accounted for because of the positive relationship between income indicators and measures of exhibition success. Because these factors are not treated simultaneously it is only possible to estimate this relationship.

TABLE 6.18. Art Income by Artists' Efforts Obtaining Exposure Opportunities*

ART INCOME	EFFORTS CLUSTER							
	No Effort; No Answer %	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition %	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships %	Virtually all Exhibits by Invitation Only %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only %	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, w/Moderate Efforts in Other Areas %	ROW TOTAL %
No Art Income	45.5	37.5	20.5	31.3	31.4	18.3	15.7	26.1
$ 1 - 500	12.2	21.0	21.3	15.8	18.5	6.4	22.0	18.0
501 - 1,000	14.9	16.1	13.8	8.6	17.7	7.7	19.2	14.3
1,001 - 2,000	9.9	8.4	10.7	14.3	12.5	10.3	17.0	11.7
2,001 - 4.000	10.1	7.0	13.3	8.0	15.9	14.0	14.4	11.8
4,001 - 10,000	3.5	4.0	12.3	9.4	2.0	23.1	7.5	9.8
10,001 or more	3.8	6.0	8.2	12.6	2.0	20.2	4.2	8.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (217)	100.0 (324)	100.0 (95)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (154)	100.0 (224)	100.0 (1172)

Chi square = 177.49791 with 36 degrees of freedom   Significance = 0.0000 and personal relationships (clusters 3 and 4) both have slightly more than 20 percent who earned over $4,000. Their opportunity for sales seems to be less regular than artists with dealers. Artists who sell through cooperatives have a regular outlet, but one that does not dependably produce sales. As an interesting contrast the artists in cluster 5 are on the average, less successful (earn less art income) than the artists in cluster 7. Both groups direct their primary efforts toward open competition, their gallery memberships and by invitations. However, the artists in cluster 5 operate almost exclusively through these techniques, while the artists in cluster 7 are moderate users of all of the other techniques as well. This difference in level of effort seems to have significant economic payoffs.

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample

The relationship of consideration clusters to art income is similar but not excatly the same. As in all previous comparisons, artists with less interest in the process of exhibiting are less likely to have economic success (Table 6.19). Those with the broadest and most active concern for the factors affecting the selection of exhibition space (cluster 3) are among the most economically successful (23.9% earn over $4,000. in art income). However, as with exhibition success, those artists who focus concern on compatibility, quality of the space, reputation, and the exhibitors understanding of their ideas and objectives (cluster 5) are most likely to have economic success (29.2% earned over $4,000. in the year prior to the survey). A possible explanation for the repetition of this pattern is that artists who are very successful can afford to consider only the basic issues, while those who are somewhat less are still looking for the

TABLE 6.19. Art Income by Artists' Considerations Regarding Exposure Opportunities*

	CONSIDERATIONS CLUSTERS							
ART INCOME	Considered None of Them; No Answer %	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor %	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors %	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately %	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals %	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes %	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors %	ROW TOTAL %
No Art Income	52.3	39.9	14.7	39.2	19.6	24.3	22.0	26.1
$ 1 - 500	10.9	20.3	18.1	14.0	13.7	18.8	22.3	18.0
501 - 1,000	6.4	13.5	12.9	12.2	11.9	15.4	19.9	14.3
1,001 - 2,000	7.8	9.8	14.6	10.3	11.8	17.6	8.9	11.7
2,001 - 4,000	11.5	6.5	15.8	7.6	13.7	9.2	12.3	11.8
4,001 - 10,000	2.5	4.1	14.1	8.3	15.0	6.2	10.1	9.8
10,001 or more	8.6	5.9	9.8	8.4	14.2	8.4	4.5	8.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (92)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (173)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (288)	100.0 (1172)

Chi square = 132.78880 with 36 degrees of freedom Significance = 0.0000 appropriate combination of factors. To operate successfully with a reduced set of considerations may require a certain level of previous success. Artists in cluster 4 who consider only quality of the work shown and reputation of the space, tend to have a distribution more bimodal than other groups. More than 16 percent earned over $4,000. and 39.2 percent earned no art income. Extending the logic of our discussion of clusters 3 and 5, this outcome suggests that if you are not well established, a narrow range of considerations could lead to failure.

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample.

From the perspective of information networks the comparison across income groups offer some unique, if not readily interpretable, results. As in previous comparisons, lack of interest is indicative of little or no success (cluster 1 in Table 6.20). Self reliance (cluster 2) implies an indifference to outside sources of information, but has the largest proportion of artists who earned over $4,000. (27.9%). These artists may be the same economically successful artists who had few but intense considerations and who felt they could rely on their own experience for the relevant information.

Artists who rely on other artists (cluster 4) or other artists plus themselves (cluster 6) or non artist friends plus themselves (cluster 7) are generally less successful than other groups except network nonusers. Over 43 percent in each cluster earned less than $500. in 1978, while only 13-16 percent earned over $4,000. (the latter range is about the same as those who used no networks). Other artists may be an easy resource, but they do not seem to be as productive as more institutional sources or they are not used as much by successful artists. Artists who centered information collection on potential exhibitors were most likely to, next to self reliant artists, to have earned

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over $4,000. and least likely to have earned nothing (only 7.0%). Those who use the widest variety of sources (cluster 3) were also generally more successful than artists who relied on other artists, but still seemed to be upwardly mobile class when compared to those who are self reliant or rely on exhibitors for information. In terms of relative success, reliance on exhibitors corresponds, to some extent, to the artists who had commercial gallery arrangements. The logical connection, anyway, is present.

The final economic comparison is with topics of interest. The results of this comparison follow well described forerunners. Artists who are not concerned with art related topics are less likely to be economically successful (Table 32, Appendix F). Those with only low somewhat locally focussed interest are only slightly more likely to have gained some economic success. Artists with moderate but broad overall interests (cluster 6), are most likely to have had a high (over $4,000.) income (24.7%). Artists who show overall high interest with some specific foci (clusters 3, 4, and 5) are likely to be moderately successful. Thus, economically successful artists are not necessarily in the group(s) that devote large amounts of time to keeping up in art related topics. Our previous argument that highly successful artists may be sufficiently self assured so that they need not spend substantial time on either efforts or considerations may be extended to include art related topics.

Artistic Success and the Exhibition Process

Our analysis of the relationship of exhibition patterns and economic success to the process of finding exhibition space suggests fourfold classification of artists. The most successful artists are

TABLE 6.20. Art Income by Networks Used for Information Regarding Exposure Opportunities*

ART INCOME	Little Use of Networks %	Self-Reliant %	Other Artists, Publications, Self-Reliant %	Other Artists %	Show's Exhibitor %	Other Artists and Self-Reliant %	Friends and Self-Reliant %	ROW TOTAL %
No Art Income	42.4	21.4	17.9	27.5	7.0	20.1	19.9	26.1
$ 1 - 500	15.8	11.5	18.6	20.7	16.7	24.8	23.9	18.0
501 - 1,000	9.9	17.2	16.3	14.9	18.3	13.6	20.3	14.3
1,001 - 2,000	10.6	12.3	12.8	9.8	15.0	10.8	13.2	11.7
2,001 - 4,000	7.9	9.7	15.0	12.6	17.9	14.1	9.2	11.8
4,001 - 10,000	6.2	19.5	14.4	5.0	11.5	7.6	6.9	9.8
10,001 or more	7.2	8.4	4.9	9.4	13.7	9.0	6.5	8.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (375)	100.0 (145)	100.0 (158)	100.0 (105)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (1172)

Chi square = 138.13831 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals are based on a weighted sample.

characterized by high quality shows, high income, an orientation to commercial galleries, self reliance or exhibitor connections when seeking information, and a moderate but focussed use of efforts and considerations. A second group is somewhat less successful, but inclined to try harder. They use a variety of efforts, consider as many factors as possible, are interested in a variety of art-related topics and use a variety of information sources. They are probably the up-and-coming artists who devote substantial effort to art marketing as well as art production. One might hypothesize that as they attain greater success they will reduce the scope of these marketing activities.

The third group are still less successful but are also probably less experienced than the artists in the first two groups. They look to other artists for information and are more likely to try competitive or cooperative approaches to exhibiting. They cannot command invitations and probably do not have the social skill and experience to successfully use personal relationships. As they develop and if they have some success they will probably move into the second group. If they are generally unsuccessful they may turn inward and become members of the fourth group.

Group four artists are not very successful or interested in the marketing scene. We feel these are unlikely to be the rebellious artists who are rejecting "the system", but, rather, artists whose art work is only marginally public. In this group we expect to find older people who may only recently have turned their hobbies into a moderate exhibition triumph;* artists who have never been very successful and, therefore, who now work mainly for themselves; and very new artists, especially those who are self-trained or have only a limited amount of formal art training.

We have described indicators of these types throughout our data analysis, but we also realize that there are a generous number of exceptions - artists who have some of the characteristics but do not fit the exposure and success criteria and artists who have common exposure and success records but who do not share other characteristics. It is the function of future research to extend these very preliminary analyses in order to understand a greater proportion of the artists population.

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*It should be remembered that all artists in our sample have exhibited in some "professional" space.

CHAPTER 7

ASSESSMENT OF NEEDS

A FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING NEEDS

Each of the first six chapters raised economic or socio-occupational issues pertaining to the artists' opportunity to pursue their artistic objectives. Of primary concern were the economic conditions under which artists function, the economic contribution of the art work, and the process by which artists attempt to exhibit and sell their work. In each chapter we discussed the perspective of artists and, in some cases, exhibitors on relevant issues and described self-reported data on the economic conditions and art-related behavior of artists. The results of these analyses are summaries and characterizations of the conditions and behavior of artists in areas relevant to a wide variety of problems and issues identified in Chapter 1. In this chapter we will attempt to develop linkages between the problems and behaviors, and to suggest approaches to alleviating some of the problems in the context of the current socio-occupational environment.

While our data are derived from interviews and surveys in only four cities, the conditions, problems, and interrelationship among key factors are probably applicable across all similar situations on the American art scene. Our analyses included both aggregated (all four cities) and city by city comparisons and, while some differences in the distributions of specific characteristics were found, overall patterns did not suggest that variables interacted differently in different cities. Thus, we will assume that the interaction of conditions, problems and potential solutions carries that same generalizability.

Problems and issues can be grouped into two general categories, economic and exhibition. The sale of art cuts across both issues because it contributes to economic success and is usually the result of current or previous exhibition success. Working conditions, which were the focus of much of our analysis, also traverse both issues because they contribute to economic conditions, time availability, and the opportunity of artists to show and sell their work.

Our analysis has focussed primarily on conditions rather than needs. The difference, as we have defined it, is between what empirically exists - conditions - and what is desirable from the perspective of system participants (artists and exhibitors) or outsiders. The empirical conditions may suggest desirable changes or may be used to support particular goals. In both situations there are assumptions about appropriate end states for artists and the art system. If we analyze empirical results using only end states as the criteria, it would be possible to identify logical changes (improvements) in the system which might facilitate the achievement of those goals. Such an analysis is logical even though it depends on subjectively chosen goals. It is this approach we will attempt to apply in our final analysis. The approach will be tinged with other factors, however, because the artists with whom we spoke often presented demands and/or wish lists which were based more on immediate personal problems than on an underlying model of what the art system is or what it should be like. While we will note differences in opinion about where the system should be or how it should operate, we will attempt not to enter directly into the debate of these judgments.

As a first step, we will attempt to put some of the demands and desires into more precise terms:

(1) There is a desire to put artists on a more stable economic footing. This objective is generally premised on the assumptions that artists are both poor and at a disadvantage in earning an income from their art. It further assumes that it is desirable to facilitate the increased production of art by providing this kind of support. Individuals who hold this position argue for more jobs which permit artists to use their artistic talents, possibly through public works, but also through private mechanisms. The thrust of this approach is general improvement in economic conditions for artists and it does not focus on issues of quality.*

(2) A second general approach is the expansion of art markets through the use of more art in public settings (buildings, parks, etc.). This approach lets the selection system stand (when viewed as an isolated model), but increases the use of art and, thereby, expands the opportunity of artists to sell their work. Among other problems, this approach would have to answer to the criticism that such a program could favor established artists over lesser known artists, thus not really expand the market for new ideas and artists.**

(3) In an approach which targets showing more than selling, it is argued that efforts should be made to increase the exhibition opportunities of artists. Often this proposal calls for the provision of funds from public agencies to support more museum level exhibitions, although other locations were suggested also. Proponents of this approach argue that it has advantages over direct aid (to the artist) in that it provides broader based support, i.e.,

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*Or, it may assume more quality art will result from the expanded opportunity given artists.

**Of course, specific programs might require use of artists with less experience or limit the number of times an artist may participate (in the case of government supported programs).

more artists can benefit from the same amount of money. However, the extent of the benefit would be much smaller and problematic since selection and sales would still be open issues.

(4) Direct aid is probably still the most popular approach. Many artists feel that this type of support should be increased. Particular variations on this theme include: (a) larger grants; (b) artist selection of awardees; (c) local or regional selection of awardees when the granting agency is national; and (d) procedurally, easing of application requirements. As a corollary to the question of direct aid there is a distinction between individual and institutional support. Many proponents of increased direct assistance to artists were willing to sacrifice institutional aid in order to accomplish their objectives. This might put them into logical conflict with the position favoring increased support for exhibition, which is likely to be funneled directly through institutions.

(5) There are many more specific economic suggestions which fall primarily into two categories: (a) those which are equivalent to employment benefits; and (b) those having to do with the tax position of artists. Benefits are an issue primarily because artists are often self employed, or work only part-time, which means that they have difficulty taking advantage of group benefits programs (medical and life insurance, retirement programs, etc.) available to individuals working full-time in a larger organization.

Tax problems center around the value of work which is donated or lost, essentially allowing artists to deduct a fair market value for their work before it is sold. This is a long standing complaint which artists and their advocates have made many times before.

(6) There are two production issues which are related to economic problems. The first is the cost of materials and the second is the availability of working space. Solutions to the materials problem are directly related to the artist's ability to sell work or find a job which will support the desired level of effort. In all of our discussions with artists we encountered no specific proposals for alleviating the increasing costs of producing art. Studio space seemed to be of greater concern largely because it was more unstable. The ability of artists to find reasonably priced studio space came into periodic conflict with changing land values, particularly in urban areas, which seem to follow the artists from one run down neighborhood to another. Solutions to this problem focus on stabilizing rents or prices of buildings in which artists have studios, usually by government subsidy or through government (public) purchase and dedication to that specific purpose.*

(7) The exhibition process includes the actions artists and exhibitors take to get works of art shown in relevant spaces and the factors both groups consider in making decisions about where, what and whom to exhibit. The relevant problems and issues concern system biases in the selection of artists and the interaction of artists and exhibitors. The biases, specified in Chapter 1, are the result of individual characteristics, e.g., gender and race, and/or the style of the artist's work. Stylistic problems center around the willingness of exhibitors to show work which is perceived as radically different or new. Beyond the personal preference of the exhibitor, the most important justifications for rejecting work based on style

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*Similar, for example, to Alexandria, Virginia's Torpedo Factory.

(quality notwithstanding) are the inability to sell it (there is no market), the fact that it cannot be sold (i.e., it is not tangible, it is too large, it is ephemeral), or a higher authority (e.g. board of directors) controlling or reviewing the decision.*

Artist-exhibitor interaction is the critical problem in the exhibition process because it is on the basis of this process that artists can achieve exhibition and sales success. Both group discussions and the survey results suggest that significant gaps exist between how the majority of artists and exhibitors perceive the process. Artists cite a variety of issues which they feel inhibit their exhibition potential. Prominent among these are: (a) "commercialism"; (b) high commissions; (c) unwillingness to look at new artists; (d) exhibitor inaccessability; and (e) unfair treatment of artists in business arrangements. Exhibitors feel that artists generally do not understand the requirements for selection to a particular space and the process for making selections which is most comfortable for the exhibitor. Many also feel that artists are naive about the "business" aspects of exhibiting art, particularly in commercial galleries.

Both sides called for increased communication between the groups, although it was our impression that the primary purpose of that exchange would be to educate the artists about appropriate etiquette when trying to get work exhibited. Although there were exceptions, the most acceptable approach was to let the exhibitor initiate the selection process. Most artists, on the other hand, were more inclined to use their own initiative because they felt it was the only way to bring their work to the attention of relevant exhibitors. Some artists, mostly those who had greater exhibition experience, seemed to have a better understanding of the utility of using personal contacts to help themselves into the position where selection would be more likely. Part of the maturing process for artists seems to be to learn how to use that system.

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*The latter issue is primarily a question of perceptions of potential audiences.

Beyond calls for greater interaction and information sharing between artists and exhibitors, and proposals for formal training about the nuances of getting shows, most of the suggestions for improving the system were directed toward increasing the available exhibition space and the variety of art which is shown. To some extent this demonstrates recognition of the dilemma of exhibitors, especially those who must sell the art they show. However, a common reasoning was based on the assumption that the current system somehow discriminated against qualified artists and that new spaces would be more open to art generally considered noncommercial.*

(8) The final general issue receiving significant attention as an approach to the solution of artists' problems was organization within the artist community. Virtually all respondents recognized that attempts to organize artists have been largely ineffective and that artists, as a group, exert little influence in social and political areas which may affect their well-being. In the political realm, especially, the interests of artists are represented largely by nonartist political structures, like the National Endowment for the Arts, and by volunteers, such as some friendly groups of lawyers. Artist organizations, such as Artist Equity, have been active, but largely ineffective in their attempts to attract a large number of professional artists into their ranks.**

This situation has led some artists to call for greater organization, while others use it as an indicator of the futility of trying to get artists to work together.

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*In this scenerio noncommercial art was often the work of the speaker and "commercialized" art was the work of those having exhibition success, especially in private galleries.

**This seems to be at least partly a function of the perceived amateur status of many Artist Equity members.

One of the greatest roadblocks to effective organization is the uneven success of artists as a group. Those who are successful in exhibiting and selling their work are less likely to feel a need for such organization.* They are also the more powerful voices coming from the artist community. Part of the problem is the inability of artists to agree on what they want, i.e., what should be the objectives of such organizations? Issues of concern to successful artists, like insurance, commission structure, openness of museum space, getting a show in New York, etc., have little current meaning to artists struggling to achieve their first one-person show. Artists working in different styles and art forms also face different kinds of problems, which they often do not see as being related to other artists. They have different markets, exhibition opportunities, and audiences.

An additional obstacle to organization is the varied occupational structure among artists. Some work as full-time artists, while many others are only part-time artists who depend on other sources for their economic survival. Art teachers may have a very different perspective than part-time laborers on the need for and advantages of organizing. Other artists, such as the "housewife artist", have still other perspectives. Thus, while we often speak of "artists" as though they were a monolithic group with common purposes, their most universal common goal, doing their art, is very individual and does not seem to be sufficient to spawn unified social organization and activity. Those issues which are common do not seem to be critical enough to overcome both other differences and a rather independent approach to their work taken by many artists. Despite an informal community of artists, which is manifested in our results by the widespread reliance on other artists for art-related information, there is a widespread independence which works against formal organization. There is also an attitudinal variation manifested by a significant group of artists who feel that any attempt to politicize or socialize the art community is both unnecessary and undesirable.*

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*There were some eloquent exceptions to this general rule, especially in our Washington, D.C. group meetings. However, these artists were the exceptions and, except for temporarily stirring up the artists at the meetings, they seemed to have little effect on the general communities behavior.

Those groups which do form represent much narrower segments of the artist population. Beyond basic friendship patterns, the most numerous functional groups are cooperatives which are formed for the specific purpose of showing and selling. At a broader level artists may group together on the bases of common approaches to art, e.g., photographers or printmakers. As the base increases, however, the focus on goals decreases and so does their success in achieving those goals and maintaining interest in the organization.

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*This perspective often extends to the provision of public (governmental) aid for artists, although those artists who eschew organization are not necessarily unfavorable to government subsidies.

THE INTERACTION OF ARTIST NEEDS AND CURRENT ECONOMIC AND EXHIBITION CONDITIONS

Art-Related Jobs

About 84% of all artists held art-related jobs in 1978 and about a third of these were full-time jobs.* Slightly more than a third (35.8%) had nonart-related jobs. More than half of the art-related jobs were teaching.** On the basis of these figures it is possible to argue that a substantial proportion of the professional artists population is supported through art-related jobs. Certainly, the income earned from these jobs significantly exceeds income earned directly from the sale of art work (the median income for those with art-related jobs is approximately $5,000, while the median income from art sales is $718.***). However, these data also highlight a peculiarity of the artistic profession, i.e., most artists do not earn a substantial living on the basis of their professional calling. About two-thirds of our sample have academic degrees (B.A. or M.F.A.) in art (Table 3.7), but only about one-quarter of the artists has a full-time art-related job (Table 4.7). A very small percentage earn their living solely from their art sales. Another group, whose exact size is difficult to determine, earns part of their livelihood from part-time art-related jobs and part from the sale of their work. About 7% of the sample hold full-time nonart related jobs**** (Table 4.8) and almost 20% receive over 85% of their support from someone else.* Thus, it might be reasonably assumed that over half of the sample would not be in the market for a full-time art related job. An additional twenty-five (or so) percent already have part-time art-related jobs. Thus, the potential target for newly created full-time jobs would be a maximum** of 50% of the artists and probably less than half that number if the jobs were part-time.

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*See Table 4.7 and Table 9 in Appendix D.

**Although less than half of the teaching jobs were full time.

***This figure would increase somewhat if we eliminated those artists who are not trying to sell their work - maybe 5%.

****These are the individuals whose jobs pay more than $13,000 per year.

The content of the jobs is another factor in the potential effectiveness of a job creation programs. Some artists are not equipped to undertake employment outside the narrow range of their artistic endeavor. Those without formal art education, for example, may be less flexible. Skill is also a factor when experience enters a possible selection equation. Artists who are younger and less successful are more likely to be in the group who desire artificially created jobs. This suggests a reduced skill level for application to relevant job requirements. Insofar as any program is designed to reduce this problem by using more experienced better trained artists, it will target artists less in need (economically) of financial aid.

Another problem is the source of support income. Many museums and other agencies currently allocate some proportion of their budgets toward the hiring of artists in special jobs. Others look for artists to fill existing regular positions. If we assume that additional jobs will have to come from new money, it is unclear how that money will be supplied. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) previously supplied some support for art-related activities, but that source has been severely curtailed. Other government agencies do not have budgets large enough to support the requirements of employment type expenditures. One possible means to circumvent the problem of reduced direct spending for artist support is to build the requirement into different types of expenditures. An example of this approach, the requirement that a portion of a building's cost be devoted to the inclusion of art, is discussed in the next section.

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*Over 90% of those in middle and upper income high support categories are women. These artists are probably less likely than others (with lower levels of support) to be seeking employment, either art-related or nonart related.

**We could reasonably project that many of these artists would not be interested in full time work because (1) it might reduce time available to do art, (2) family responsibilities would not allow it, (3) they would rather separate art and work environments (a perspective expressed several times in our group discussions), or a variety of other possible reasons.

A final issue which should be discussed before job programs are implemented is the expected impact of those programs on the production of quality art. Providing art-related jobs does not seem to inherently guarantee more or better art. An indirect impact could be the expansion of artists' incomes which would then be devoted to producing art, but the payoff of this effect is unclear. It also has been argued that being able to work in an art-related environment may have both psychological and career payoffs, but our data do not permit the evaluation of the former effect and suggest only a moderate payoff from the latter. However, with regard to the career implications of working an art-related job, it is clear that some art jobs create the potential of making important personal connections.

The provision of jobs seems completely unrelated to exhibition problems whic resolve around stylistic and other issues. While working an art job may help an artist learn more about the system, it will not help the system learn to accommodate the art such jobholders produce. Nor will the market expand and available space for showing increase. Thus, such a program could provide economic advantages to some artists, but without affecting any other problem areas.*

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*This is not necessarily a bad outcome.

Mandatory Use of Art in Buildings

There are currently some government programs which mandate the use of a certain percentage of public building costs to the inclusion of original works of art. If this program is expanded, it will provide an increased opportunity for artists to sell their work. If private builders adopted this practice, it would increase the market to an even greater degree. It is possible that government entities which control building codes could adopt regulations which would apply to public use buildings.

The impact of such regulations might increase the use of art in buildings, but it would not (necessarily) change the selection structure. Nor would it mean that a significant proportion of new artists or art would be selected. It is possible to create a scenario in which the same well-known artists became richer, while making little room for newer artists or new art types. The veracity of this scenario would be a function of the extensiveness of the programs. The impact on the style of art selected would be limited by, among other factors, the permanence of the art, the method of selection (e.g. by a panel of artists or by the city council), and the function of the building.

Unfortunately our data provide no information which directly addresses this type of proposal. In group discussions, however, some artists did complain about the sterile art often used in public buildings and about the "commercial" approaches to the selection of pieces.

Increasing Exhibition Opportunities

Beyond mandated use of public buildings, there are a variety of ways to improve the artist's opportunity to exhibit and gain desired recognition.

While it is not clear that more exhibition space would lead to more sales (the market does not seem to follow the available space, but lead it),* it is clear that greater exhibition opportunity, which was pointed toward increasing the number of artists being shown as well as the number of pieces by each artist, would provide the opportunity for recognition so desirable to most artists. There are a number of issues which emanate from this basic objective. What kind of space should be provided? Who should provide the space? What kind of art should be shown? Who should select the artists? Who should provide the support? Despite many questions there were few specific suggestions presented during the course of our discussions with artists and exhibitors, or as a result of the survey. Most people saw a need, but few thought they knew how to fill it.

There were general concerns with showing new or experimental art forms, with showing younger artists, and with showing local artists. Most suggestions looked for a form of outside support given to increase available space.** Support for aid to increase exhibition space was based on the following assumptions: (a) that there were too few spaces currently available to show all deserving artists; (b) that the current selection procedure was biased against certain types of art (the "noncommercial" types); (c) that local artist selected works were more likely to be shown; and (d) that support of exhibition space was less costly than direct support of artists (grants, etc.). Assumption (a) will probably always be true, especially in the eyes of artists who are not showing as much as they want. Our data showed that the quality of the space was one of the most important (if not the most important) considerations in seeking a show. Given this consideration it would seem that artists had specific quality factors in mind when they suggested support for more exhibitions. The specific quality issues were, however, never made explicit. The general assumption seemed to be that such shows would be competitive and open.* This model matched the efforts modus operandi of many of the less successful and moderately successful artists. Many of these artists felt that their work needed only the opportunity of open compilation to achieve success. They tended to reject the idea (in the group discussions) and technique (in the survey results) of forming personal relationships to achieve exhibition success.** As our survey data show these ideas were less popular among more successful artists.

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*Our data show a positive correlation between exhibition experience (over a 3 year period) and sales. This outcome suggests that exhibiting is a key to sales, but it does not necessarily mean that increased exhibition, for all artists, would produce overall increased sales. The impact of more exhibition space on aggregate sales of art is still unknown.

**One suggestion, for example, called for the creation of a space dedicated to an artist selected panel of well known local artists who would be provided stipend for showing their work on a permanent basis. These artists could, in turn, donate their space and the stipend for specific periods to lesser known artists of their choice. Thus, both exhibition space and money would be increased, as would (presumably) the opportunity for artist selected lesser known artists. It was unclear, however, where the space would come from. The funds would be supplied by an agency like the N.E.A. and experience would tell us how the well known artists would behave with regard to giving up their place and money.

The second assumption, biases in selection, was more often implicit than explicit in this context. Many artists viewed private galleries as the bastions of popular commercial art and looked to increased opportunity in museums, alternative spaces, and public spaces as the champions of new ideas. Space funded from the outside has greater appeal because it is perceived as less constricted by local (e.g. boards of directors) establishments. It was artists working in new or unusual formats who were most concerned about this particular selection bias.* Most artists seemed willing to accept the judgement of fellow artists in the merit of their work more than they were willing to accept dealers opinions.** There seemed to us, however, to be no certainty in the use of outside support to increase exhibition space or the use of artists to select participants for this space that insured the types of selections assumed by many artists. There were few suggestions, for example, on how the juries for such shows should be selected.

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*Our previously described example not withstanding.

**Our footnoted example drew criticim from artists on the grounds that any sharing of exhibtion spaces by well known artists would be on the basis of personal relationships rather than objective merit.

The third assumption was that increased space underwritten by national or other outside resources would increase the opportunity for local artists. If such support was specifically aimed at promoting local art this assumption would be true by definition, but there seems to be no such guarantee implicit in the approach. Potential exhibitors, such as museums or public spaces still must consider regular audiences and long term effects. Such factors may reduce the appeal of funds to sponsor shows of local artists. If there is no audience the show does no good for either the space or the artists. And, it was artists, after all, who were most vocal in their condemnation of the lack of loyalty by local exhibitors and audiences to the work of local artists. This was the major reason (i.e., no local market) cited for looking to other cities for exhibits.***

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*The position of the artist on the continuum of differentness was self applied.

**The use of other artists as primary providers of information on considerations for selecting potential exhibition locations is a good example of the degree of trust for artists' opinions over those of dealers.

***This practice was pursued primarily by artists with moderate to high exhibition experience. It appeared that a low level of success could be achieved, but moving to higher levels often required some out-of-town experience.

The final assumption, that support of exhibits was more cost effective than direct support, holds that artists would gain a substantial advantage from appearing in such an exhibition and somehow increase their collective stature more than a smaller number would gain from receiving individual grants.

Support for shows still assumes a competitors art market. While the show has its own reward, it also presents no more than the opportunity for artists to collect financial reward which, if nothing else, would give them the potential to continue their work. Again, this logic requires the expansion of the current market to be effective for all artists. Otherwise, such shows would simply redistribute current economic opportunities among a larger group of artists.* We feel such an outcome is no mean achievement and that its ultimate success is a function of the degree to which it helps to overcome a variety of selection biases which exist in the current system. Not the least of these biases is based on the impact of the selection process which open competition, juried by outside artists, might help to alleviate.

Direct Financial Aid

Artists earn less than the average well educated workers in the United States. Their income from art is usually only about half of what they expend to produce it (Chapter 4). They are usually unable to find full-time work in their chosen profession. And, perhaps most importantly to the artists, the visual arts are a critical component of the social fabric of the nation.

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*With no assurance that artists who are working with new or experimental forms would receive any larger share of the market.

These are the arguments usually used to justify a demand for increased economic aid to visual artists. Unfortunately, the nation, or at least the art consumers, are not sufficiently involved with the artistic component to support all those who want to contribute within the market mechanism.* Thus, many, but far from all, artists argue that some form of economic aid should be provided.

The changes desired are: (a) larger grants because the amount of money generally provided does not really alleviate the artist of basic economic responsibilities;** (b) artist selection of awardees to eliminate perceived biases in the current system; (c) local or regional selection committees which are more familiar with local artists and art trends; *** and (d) a reduction in the complexity of application procedures. Overriding all of these specific suggestions is the assumption of more money than is currently being provided. The fact that, as of the summer of 1981, national level public funds for supporting artists were decreasing, makes some of the specific proposals more difficult and others easier to implement. The National Endowment for the Arts, for example, recently increased average awards to artists despite having lower overall funds. There is also a strong potential for redistributing decision-making functions to regional or state level as more funds are distributed as block grants to state art agencies. The overall level of funds distributed directly to artists, however, seems likely to decrease. Thus, fewer artists will receive grants unless there is a substantial change in the perspective of individuals and corporate patrons or the Endowment and other grant providers redistribute money away from institutions.*

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*Given mechanisms for measuring the usefulness of classes in terms of the number of paying students which operate in most of our colleges, universities, and art schools, even teachers are subject to these market forces.

**The average grant in 1978 provided only a few hundred dollars to those lucky enough to receive one.

***Such familiarity may reintroduce the potential for selection bias based on cronyism or other related factors. Not surprisingly this change was perceived as more desirable as the distance from Washington, DC increased.

We mentioned previously that some artists do not perceive the necessity for providing any aid to artists or the artistic community in general. Individuals with this perspective reject assumptions that the social contribution of art can only be adequately provided through subsidies. Their argument is further developed with the idea that art's contribution to the social fabric is through the interaction of artist and public, and that the imposition of values outside of that interaction, especially through political agencies, distorts the real underlying process. These artists are also more likely to adhere to more traditional art styles and forms. In group discussions they wondered why artists representing what they felt were the current dominant styles (particularly the various approaches to abstract art) should be concerned about support when most commercial and public spaces favored those approaches.

The conflict between those opposing opinions is unlikely to be resolved in the near future. Those who favor support, including most exhibitors, are less likely to see the sinister influence of governmental support on the output of artists and more likely to view with alarm the relatively poor economic position of artists whose art cannot support them on a market economy.

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*Unfortunately, the argument used to support funding shows rather than individuals does not apply as well to the individual vs. institution dichtomy because much of the money that goes to visual arts institutions does not support exhibits by local artists. Some supporters of institutional grants argue an indirect contribution is made through raising the general public's awareness of and appreciation for the visual arts.

Those who see no reason for support are also likely to see no reason why artists should be represented beyond their ability to support themselves in the art market or by whatever means they choose.

Further Economic Support: Benefits and Taxes

One area where greater consensus exists is the need to "assist" artists in the areas of employment benefits and taxes. Our earlier discussion specified several areas where such assistance, primarily through organization and tax law changes, could be of greatest benefit to artists who are often isolated from the advantages of work oriented organizations and too politically impotent to influence substantial legislation. Our data generally support the "need" for employment benefits, especially among younger artists, but some of the conditions, such as unemployment, are extremely difficult to define and are therefore unlikely to receive much attention at the legislative level, e.g. putting artists on unemployment compensation when they are unable to earn a living by selling their art. Tax law and other legal changes, such as in resale of art, are gradually being made, but much internal disagreement about the impact of such changes has made "progress" very slow.

Costs and Studio Space

Very few artists show a profit from the sale of their art. On the average they spend twice as much for materials as they earn from sales. The second major factor in artists' costs is working (studio) space. Most artists do not have a studio outside their homes and many do not have homes that accommodate an adequate studio. The problem of studio space is both economic, i.e., the artists cannot afford to rent a studio, and physical, adequate space is very difficult to find. The areas cross when artists are forced to vacate good studio space because rents are being increased, usually because urban development is moving into rundown neighborhoods which typify the location of artists studios in large cities.

Some artists, such as teachers, have the advantge of free studio space. Others, particularly older and more successful artists are more likely to own their homes, so that studio space creates fewer problems. However, the young and inexperienced artists bear the brunt of the problem because they often have neither the base nor the funds to adequately provide adequate working space.*

Along with employment benefits and tax issues, costs and studio space are problems common to most artists. The high cost of materials is much like inflation, nobody wants it, but there is little anyone can do about it (short of reducing their production). Studio space is an area where more specific proposals were forthcoming. The purchase and conversion of old buildings for multiple studios was the most common. Such purchases would be made by government agencies, at any level, and space would be rented to artists at fixed prices so that the pressure of land values could be ignored.

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*In fact, it is the younger less experienced and less successful artist who is more likely to appear as the disadvantaged artist. They have greater difficulty finding exhibition space, lower incomes from both art and other sources, similar costs and space needs, and they must engage in more difficult efforts e.g. going from exhibitor to exhibitor, to find appropriate space. Based on this situation, it could be argued that this group should be the focus of outside support to artists. Unfortunately, it is also this group which is probably least successful in producing work which is acceptable to the art consumer (looking or buying) and least successful in lobbying for a larger share of available funds because, as a group, they are less well organized and, as individuals, they are less well known.

The Exhibition Process

Most artists attempt to have work exhibited by initiating some form of contact with potential exhibitors. This contact includes entering competitions and various forms of self-initiated direct contact (door-to-door, appointments, etc.). These efforts were more common to less experienced artists, while the more experienced artists were more likely to wait for an invitation, use their personal relationships with exhibitors, or have an agreement with a dealer.

For artists at all experience levels the most important factor in considering a possible exhibition space was the reputation of the space, the director, or the staff. The second most important factor was their artistic compatibility with what was shown in the space. Exhibitors saw this process as operating somewhat differently. They felt that many artists, even those with prior exhibition experience (like those in our sample) did not sufficiently consider compatibility. This created many awkward interactions between artists and exhibitors and could be the basis for the artists' complaint that many exhibitors were unfriendly, inaccessable, lacked understanding, were too commercial, etc.

The quality issue presents additional opportunity for artist-exhibitor conflict. As mentioned, most artists consider the quality (reputation) of the space as an important exhibition criterion. Artists also seek upward mobility in their exhibitions. If we assume that exhibitors are reasonable judges* of the quality of the work they review and that there are always less quality spaces than artists seeking to fill them, the potential for disagreement, accusations of bias, and damaged egos is very large. If most artists seek to improve on their last show, in terms of the quality of the space, only a small proportion are likely to be successful. The charges of commercialism and a variety of other prejudicial selection criteria are a natural outcome of such a process. And, it is not that these charges are entirely unfounded, any more than comments that some exhibitors are not very good judges of artistic talent. However, many, perhaps most, of the artists in our discussion groups, had not fully come to terms with the position of the exhibitors. Exhibitors have particular artistic perspectives* just as the artists do, and these perspectives control the use of exhibition spaces. When the artist makes a presentation that does not fit that perspective (for that space, at that time), they are unlikely to be successful. The artists who are most likely to demonstrate an intellectual understanding (if not agreement) of this problem are those who have had more exhibition success and experience in dealing with exhibitors. They are more likely to see both qualitative and stylistic differences among exhibitors and to understand their position within the system. They are also more likely to have a stable relationship with a dealer and/or to receive invitations to show their work.

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*If there were some objective standard of quality this would certainly be a dangerous assumption. However, one of the measures of artistic success is exhibition in increasingly prestigeous spaces and the proprietors of those spaces are the relevant gatekeeprs in that process, theirs is one of the most widely accepted judgments of quality.

In order to combat system biases artists may seek exhibition space by forming their own gallery. Our data indicate that artists who are currently using this option are less likely to have had wide success using the more traditional spaces (e.g. museums and private commercial galleries). Thus, artists who are not successful with other gatekeepers turn to other artists* and finance their own space. However, these artists generally graduate to more traditional exhibition formats, like commercial galleries and museums, as they continue to expand their artistic careers. That is, cooperatives seem to provide another intermediate step between the student and the successful professional artist. The step may supplement entry into juried competitions and even replace showing in less prestigeous commercial galleries, but it does not seem to replace the use of commercial galleries as a stepping stone to greater success.

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*It could well be argued that most exhibitors have a much broader perspective than most artists since the work they select usually must appeal to a wider audience.

There is an overlap between the using of cooperatives and the use of so-called alternative spaces. The latter type of space is generally dedicated to showing work whose style or other physical characteristics make it unsuitable for showing or unsalable in other spaces. In some instances, a cooperative can accommodate these factors, thus, the overlap. In other instances cooperatives are unable to provide appropriate physical space or financial support (the artist's own) to create or present the work and commercial spaces cannot hope to sell it, in addition to not being able to provide appropriate space or front end support (aesthetic judgments notwithstanding). Under these conditions artists seek alternative means for presenting their work. Because of the physical dimension of the work (or lack of it) and because it usually lies outside traditionally accepted artistic styles, the artists who create such work may develop entirely different career patterns than artists who work more traditionally. They may often skip the commercial gallery step altogether and go directly from cooperative or alternative space to museums (the ultimate step). Our survey data provide too little information about (longitudinal) career development paths to permit adequate testing of this proposition, although some artists encountered in the group discussions seemed to have followed such a path. Many others have gotten as far as presenting their work in the alternative spaces without making the next step to museum level and without achieving any economic rewards from their art. We also found that such artists may work at two levels, the second being a more traditionally oriented style which can provide economic support.

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*Cooperatives are also selective to some degree. Not all artists are accepted as members. Many of the established cooperatives have a screening process for new members that may be more rigorous than many of the commercial galleries. Almost no space is operated completely without quality oriented selection procedures.

Still another path to success is the use of exhibition spaces outside local geographic boundaries As pointed out in earlier discussions, many artists feel that the local environment does not provide sufficient opportunity for exhibition or commercial success (75% of those who attempt to exhibit in other cities cite the limitations of the local environment as the primary factors). Success in exhibiting in other areas is also correlated with local success. Thus, artists considered good in one city are more likely to be considered good in other cities.

Many artists argue that success elsewhere, especially in one of the major art centers, is imperative to having major success in the local environment. It is as though local gatekeepers and collectors need some external reinforcement for their artistic judgments. Complementing this pattern is the appeal of out-of-town artists who show in local spaces. These are not only the nationally known artists, but many whose experience and quality is similar to local artists who may be having difficulties getting local shows. Two possible reasons for this phenomenon are the exotic appeal of an artist from somewhere else (often implying an additional judgment on the quality of the work) and the possibility that exhibitors may feel that the local market is saturated with the work of a particular artist.*

Permeating all of these career paths and exhibition process issues are four basic tenets which were manifested in the survey results and group discussions. First, success is not instantaneous or, in most cases, even very fast. Most artists pay their dues and even seem resigned to the fact that success will not come overnight. This means that a continuous struggle to improve one's position with both exhibition and sales opportunities** is taking place. Second, the process of achieving success is not neutral (based solely on quality of the art). Assuming that artists are not going to modify their ideals to accommodate the current commercial fads, it still requires a knowledge of how to play the system in order to achieve success. Those artists with the best understanding of how and when to contact prospective exhibitors are more likely to be successful.*** There are too many artists of similar or equal talent to accommodate all who may be qualified at each level. Third, despite any efforts to force increased levels of spending for art through governmental agencies and even including increased corporate spending, it appears likely that the short run future market for art is not going to outstrip the increasing supply of artists. Thus, it seems unrealistic to expect to make a significant impact on the economic condition of artists through the provision of outside aid.

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*Thus, on the commercial gallery side, a situation in which an artists is a member of the gallery's stable but cannot get a show. On the museum side, an artist may have been selected for representative group shows several times, but does not make a current show because the exhibitor (jury, etc.) has seen too much of the work and is looking for "new faces". Even the media can become involved, as reviewers may seek to write about "new" artists, while ignoring the shows of artists have shown and been reviewed one or more times previously.

**And the two conditions are highly correlated.

***Sometimes it is a function of luck as much as skill.

Under these conditions artists who want to survive by their art must be even more aware of the role process plays in achieving success.

Finally, there are biases in the system. Minority artists do seem to be systematically excluded, primarily, it appears, on the basis of what exhibitors feel are recognizable stylistic differences in their work. Commercial success is less likely because the economic base for supporting this art is not large enough. Women also may be discriminated against, although this charge is more difficult to substantiate. They lag somewhat behind men in terms of exhibition success, but it is difficult to demonstrate where the biases occur, particularly in light of the fact that, on the average, women seem to devote less time and effort to their art than men and also seem to have come more lately into the field.* The greatest bias, however, is probably a stylistic bias. While virtually any type of art can be shown and even sold somewhere, the market for all types is not equal or even distributed in the same proportions that artists produce it. This means artists must be aware of the most likely avenues to success and use them, and perhaps even be prepared to modify their artistic ideals. Under the best conditions most artists are not going to be very successful, certainly not more than an occasional show and sufficient sales to cover the cost of production. Currently only a small percentage achieve even that amount of economic success.

Organizing Artists

Artists are very likely to rely on other artists for much of their information about exhibiting and selling their art, but they are unlikely to belong to broadly based artist organizations with common goals. Even those artists who do look to other artists for critical information on where to try to show or the quality of a particular space, are likely to be less successful than artists who have learned to rely on their own experience or look to other parts of the art community for their guidance. Thus, the value of the personal relationships diminishes in its importance for career development as success increases.

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*The lag effect could be one factor showing exhibition parity with men.

The most successful formal structure for pulling artists together to achieve exhibition and sales objectives has been cooperatives. Yet, artists who exhibit in cooperatives are not as successful in other areas and generally earn less money from the sale of their art. Cooperatives appear to be one technique for pulling artists through the early or middle stages of a career, but they are not a stable vehicle for long term development. Nor are they usually the base for developing broader organizational structures to achieve more general goals.* As artists achieve success in other types of spaces they move out of cooperatives and apparently lose some of the incentive to continue organizing.

The fragmented exhibition and selection process also inhibits the organization of artists. There is no common body to strike out against. The federal government is a target on only marginal issues like certain tax problems. The National Endowment for the Arts provides a whipping boy, but its impact on most artists is very small. In addition there are many artists who feel there should be no governmental aid to artists, making organization on this issue difficult. Exhibitors do not provide a good target because they are not organized either. While most of the commercial galleries in a particular city may charge the same or very similar commissions, their approaches, objectives, and other methods of operation vary widely, making it difficult to identify a common target.

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*Artists in a cooperative may share goals, but they do not seem to extend them. Using cooperatives as a base for further organization is one technique which does not seem to have achieved much attention.

While artists have some broadly based common interests, they are also in competition. Unlike members of the United Auto Workers, artists do not all have jobs they are trying to keep and improve. Rather, they are competing for a limited number of scarce jobs and it seems unlikely that full employment for artists will ever be an achievable goal. The artist role is open not only to those who want to earn a living from it, but also to those who want to practice it on a part-time basis or as a hobby. All groups compete for available spaces. In addition, there are no broadly accepted standards on what is good art and what level of quality good artists should demonstrate. Thus, the criteria for defining an artist, from a practical perspective, rests on exhibition and sales records in a highly fragmented system.

Success in the system brings new and divergent goals. Successful artists have different problems, they generally seek a broader market, they begin to look toward the major art centers, and they worry about museum shows. At a somewhat more moderate level of success there is a concern for problems of dealing with commercial galleries and learning how to interact with dealers. For even less successful artists the set of problems is again different. Thus, the common ground is restricted and the members of each level (group) are constantly changing.

At the widest level there has been only moderate organizing success, e.g. Artists Equity, and even that has been widely criticized by other artists. The successes that artists have or are achieving at the legislative level are a function of a variety of forces, not the least of which are within the political system. For the most part artists are prepared to concentrate on their art and let others organize as they wish. While artists in every group we talked to discussed some problems with the system, most were not willing to carry their problems into an organizational structure.

....

In this Chapter we have attempted to tie some of the problems and issues raised by artists to their responses to our inquiries about their exhibition and economic success. This format and the limitations of the data do not permit a full explication of every issue confronting contemporary artists. particularly those concerning the quality of the art they create. There were also many questions raised which must be addressed in further research. Paramount among these are further refinement of our understanding of the sequential process through which artists must travel to achieve success and continued examination of the interaction between quality, style, process, exhibition and sales structuring, and the art market at all levels. This study addressed each of these factors except the market and, while we feel that the level of our understanding of the exhibition process and its relationship to economic conditions has been significantly increased, there is still much to be done.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

PART I

We would like some idea of the kind of art you make and the amount of public exposure your work has had in the past few years. The following questions address these issues.

1. What is the visual art form in which you most often worked and exhibited during the past three years?

Check Only One 1.7,8

01 ☐ Painting
02 ☐ Sculpture (all media)
03 ☐ Printmaking
04 ☐ Drawing
05 ☐ Photography
06 ☐ Video
07 ☐ Film/sound
08 ☐ Conceptual
09 ☐ Environmental
10 ☐ Performance
11 ☐ Craft related
12 ☐ Multiple forms
Please list: ____________, ____________, ____________
13 ☐ Other forms. Please list:
____
1.9

2. Beyond art form how would you characterize your work, including the media or materials you use?

____

____
1.10,11

1.12 3. Are you currently working in the art forms described above?

01 ☐ Yes 02 ☐ No If not, what form are you now involved with and when did you change?

Now use ____________.
1.13,14

Changed ____________ months ago.
1.15,16

4. Please indicate the number of each type of exhibition* you have had locally during the past three years next to the type of space in which you exhibited.

One Person Exhibition	Small Group Exhibition, 2-4 Artists	Large Group Exhibition, 5 or More	
____________ 1.17	____________ 1.18	____________ 1.19	Museums
____________ 1.20	____________ 1.21	____________ 1.22	Other public spaces e.g., universities and colleges, libraries, public outdoor spaces, etc.
____________ 1.23	____________ 1.24	____________ 1.25	Private commercial galleries.
____________ 1.26	____________ 1.27	____________ 1.28	Cooperative galleries run by artists.
____________ 1.29	____________ 1.30	____________ 1.31	Alternative spaces. Please list alternative spaces. ____________ ____________
____________ 1.32	____________ 1.33	____________ 1.34	Other types of spaces. Please specify: ____________ 1.35

1.36 5. Do you have someone who represents you in the sale of your works, e.g., a commercial dealer, agent, etc.?

1 ☐ Yes, one 2 ☐ Yes, more than one 3 ☐ No, go to question 6

If yes, where are most of your works distributed by your representative(s)?

Check Only One 1.37

1 ☐ Locally
2 ☐ Regionally
3 ☐ Nationally and Internationally
4 ☐ Other, please specify ____________.
9 ☐ Don't know

*Exhibition can mean show or performance depending on the type of work you do.

6. Have you received any commissions during the past 12 months?

1.38 1 ☐ Yes. If yes, how many? ____________ 1.39,40 2 ☐ No

PART II

The following questions concern how you use your time and earn an income.

7. During the past year, about how much time did you devote to your art and non-art activities in an average week?

Answer both A. and B. with your best estimate.

A. About ______ 1.46,47 hours during an average week producing, selling, and preparing works for shows; experimenting with new ideas and techniques; discussing ideas with other artists, and other art-related activities (not jobs).

B. About ______ 1.48,50 hours during an average week working at a paying job or jobs which may or may not be art-related, i.e., include jobs teaching art or museum and gallery work, as well as those like carpentry or sales.

8. For the art activities (from A above), indicate how much time you spent on the following categories.

	Most of the time	Some of the time	Little time	No time	
Selling your work	☐ 01	☐ 02	☐ 03	☐ 04	1.51
Experimenting with new ideas or techniques	☐ 01	☐ 02	☐ 03	☐ 04	1.52
Producing work for show or sale	☐ 01	☐ 02	☐ 03	☐ 04	1.53
Preparing work for exhibition or performance (framing, shipping, hanging shows, set up equipment, etc.)	☐ 01	☐ 02	☐ 03	☐ 04	1.54
Discussing ideas with other artists	☐ 01	☐ 02	☐ 03	☐ 04	1.55
Other art activities. Please specify: ____________________ ____________________ 1.57	☐ 01	☐ 02	☐ 03	☐ 04	1.56

9. What is your best estimate of the number of hours you spent in your studio, in an average week during the past year. __________ 1.58,60 hours

10. Indicate below the type of jobs you held during the past year.

	Full time	Part time	
a. Teaching art or related subjects	☐ 01	☐ 02	1.61
b. Arts administration, curatorial jobs	☐ 01	☐ 02	1.62
c. Other art-related jobs, e.g., commercial photographer, art sales, commercial art, etc.	☐ 01	☐ 02	1.63
d. Other non-art related jobs. Please specify: ____________________ ____________________ 1.65,66	☐ 01	☐ 02	1.64

11. What was your approximate total household income (yourself and other household members) during 1978?

1.67,68

01 ☐ $ 0 - 2,999
02 ☐ $3,000 - 4,999
03 ☐ $5,000 - 6,999
04 ☐ $7,000 - 9,999
05 ☐ $10,000 - 12,999
06 ☐ $13,000 - 15,999
07 ☐ $16,000 - 19,999
08 ☐ $20,000 - 29,999
09 ☐ $30,000 - 49,999
10 ☐ $50,000 and up

12. What proportion of the total household income did you earn? ________ % 1.69,70

13. During 1977 was your personal income different than in 1978? 1.71

01 ☐ Yes, much higher
02 ☐ Yes, much lower
03 ☐ No, it was about the same.

14. During 1976 was your personal income different than in 1978? 1.72

01 ☐ Yes, much higher
02 ☐ Yes, much lower
03 ☐ No, it was about the same.

15. For the 1978 period please indicate your income and expenditures for the sources listed below. THE CATEGORIES DO NOT INCLUDE ALL POSSIBLE INCOME AND EXPENDITURES.

INCOME	Approximate Dollar Amount	None	
a. From the sale of your art (before dealer commission).	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.6,10
b. From project commissions.	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.11,15
c. From grants and awards for art.	$ ____________		
d. From salaries and wages for art-related jobs (including		0 ☐	2.16,20
teaching, lectures, and residencies).	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.21,25
e. From salaries and wages for non-art-related job.	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.26,30
EXPENDITURES			
a. Materials and equipment costs for art making.	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.31,35
b. Studio rent and related costs (taxes, heat, electricity, etc.)	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.36,40
c. Exhibition costs, including insurance, travel, framing, invitations, openings, etc.	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.41,45
d. Dealer commissions.	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.46,50
e. For educational and information expenses, like classes, art journals, etc.	$ ____________	0 ☐	2.51,55

16. How many pieces or works did you sell during 1978? ________ pieces or works 2.56,58

If you sold one or more,

2.59,61 how many were through a dealer? ________________
2.62,64 how many were sold directly by you? ________________
2.65,67 how many were sold by another means? ________________ Please specify: ____________________. 2.68

17. Have any of your previously sold works been resold? 2.69

- 8 ☐ I don't know.
- 0 ☐ None have been resold
- 1 ☐ One or more have been resold and the resale price was:
  - 2 ☐ lower than the original price
  - 3 ☐ about the same as the original price
  - 4 ☐ higher than the original price (____________ times) 2.70
  - 5 ☐ don't know the resale price

PART III

The following questions focus on the process of getting your work exhibited.

18. For the approaches listed below check which action characterizes your efforts to get work exhibited in local spaces during the past year. Please answer for each approach.

If you have neither exhibited nor attempted to exhibit during the past year, check here ☐ and go to question 20.

	Always 1	Usually 2	Sometimes 3	Never 4	
2.71	☐	☐	☐	☐	a. By invitation
2.72	☐	☐	☐	☐	b. A part of an agreement with a dealer(s).
2.73	☐	☐	☐	☐	c. Going from space to space with portfolio or slides.
2.74	☐	☐	☐	☐	d. Setting up appointments with exhibitors with no previous introduction.
2.75	☐	☐	☐	☐	e. Setting up appointment with exhibitor to whom you have been introduced by someone else.
2.76	☐	☐	☐	☐	f. Entering a juried open competition.
2.77	☐	☐	☐	☐	g. By establishing personal relationships.
2.78	☐	☐	☐	☐	h. Member of the gallery—as with coop or art organization.
2.79	☐	☐	☐	☐	i. Other. Please specify: ______________________ 2.80

19. How many exhibitions did you have in the past year? ________ Exhibitions.
3.6.7

If you did not have an exhibition in the last year, skip to question 20.

For your most recent show only—

3.8 a. What type of exhibition was it?
1 ☐ one person
2 ☐ group, 2-4 artists
3 ☐ group, 5 or more artists

3.9 b. Where was the exhibition?
1 ☐ museum
2 ☐ other public space—e.g., parks, government buildings, public land site
3 ☐ commercial gallery
4 ☐ artist run gallery, coop
5 ☐ alternative space. Please specify: ____________________ 3.10
6 ☐ fairs, malls, festival, etc.
7 ☐ Other. Please specify: ______________________ 3.11

3.12 c. How were you selected?
1 ☐ part of my agreement with my gallery
2 ☐ entered an open juried competition
3 ☐ a member of the gallery—as with coop or art organization
4 ☐ invited by curator or dealer
5 ☐ other. Please specify: ______________________ 3.13

A-6
433
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20. Generally, when looking for a space or site to exhibit or present your work which of the following factors do you consider?

	Always 1	Usually 2	Sometimes 3	Never 4	
3.25	☐	☐	☐	☐	a. Whether the gallery is taking on additional artists.
3.26	☐	☐	☐	☐	b. If there is an upcoming annual or thematic exhibition.
3.27	☐	☐	☐	☐	c. If there is an upcoming competition.
3.28	☐	☐	☐	☐	d. The compatibility with what is shown there.
3.29	☐	☐	☐	☐	e. The quality of other work shown there.
3.30	☐	☐	☐	☐	f. If an outside opinion (e.g., a friend) recommends it.
3.31	☐	☐	☐	☐	g. Friendly with the exhibitor.
3.32	☐	☐	☐	☐	h. The reputation of the space.
3.33	☐	☐	☐	☐	i. The reputation of the staff or director.
3.34	☐	☐	☐	☐	j. The costs of exhibiting there, e.g., for shows, commission, percent, etc.
3.35	☐	☐	☐	☐	k. The reputation of the director in working with artists.
3.36	☐	☐	☐	☐	l. The media coverage received by the space.
3.37	☐	☐	☐	☐	m. Amount of promotional work by space.
3.38	☐	☐	☐	☐	n. The exhibitor understanding of your ideals and artistic objectives.
3.39	☐	☐	☐	☐	o. Other factors. Please specify: ____________ 3.41
3.40	☐ Skip to question 22.				p. I don't consider any of the above factors. My approach is more or less random.

21. The previous question asks about various kinds of information you may try to obtain about local exhibition spaces. In this question we would like to identify the source of this information. For each information type listed on the left please write the number of your primary source of that information (using the list on the right in the space provided.)

Type of Information		Number of Primary Source
a. Whether the gallery is taking on additional artists.	3.43,44	____
b. If there is an upcoming annual or thematic exhibition.	3.45,46	____
c. If there is an upcoming competition.	3.47,48	____
d. The compatibility with what is shown there.	3.49,50	____
e. The quality of other work shown there.	3.51,52	____
f. If an outside opinion (e.g., a friend) recommends it.	3.53,54	____
g. The reputation of the space.	3.55,56	____
h. The reputation of the staff or director.	3.57,58	____
i. The costs of exhibiting there, e.g., for shows, commission, percent, etc.	3.59,60	____
j. The reputation of the director in working with artists.	3.61,62	____
k. The media coverage received by the space.	3.63,64	____
l. Amount of promotional work by space.	3.65,66	
m. The exhibitor understanding of your ideals and artistic objectives.	3.67,68	____
n. Other factors. Please specify: ____________ 3.71	3.69,70	____

PRIMARY SOURCE LIST

1. Other artists
2. Friends not necessarily artists
3. Art teachers and instructors
4. Local art publications
5. Regional or national art publications
6. Local newspapers
7. The exhibitor you are interested in
8. Other exhibitors
9. Local artist organization
10. Art service organizations
11. Personal knowledge
12. Others. Please specify: ____________ 3.73
13. Others ____________ ____________ 3.74

22. During the past year have you attempted to exhibit your work outside this area?

1 ☐ No (go to question 23). 3.75

2 ☐ Yes a. Where? ______________________ 3.76,77

b. Why did you choose these areas? ______________________ 3.78

c. Why did you try to exhibit outside this geographic area? ______________________ 3.79

d. Were you successful? 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 3.80

23. Which of the following topics of information do you regularly keep up on?

	Always 1	Sometimes 2	Seldom 3	Never 4	
4.6	☐	☐	☐	☐	a. Latest ideas and developments by other artists in this area.
4.7	☐	☐	☐	☐	b. Latest ideas and developments in major art markets like New York, Los Angeles or Chicago.
4.8	☐	☐	☐	☐	c. Art criticism and esthetics.
4.9	☐	☐	☐	☐	d. The local art scene.
4.10	☐	☐	☐	☐	e. What is being shown at important local spaces.
4.11	☐	☐	☐	☐	f. What is being shown at important national spaces.
4.12	☐	☐	☐	☐	g. The system of getting exhibited.
4.13	☐	☐	☐	☐	h. Art history content and techniques.
4.14	☐	☐	☐	☐	i. Other areas. Please specify __________ __________ 4.15

24. Using the list on the right, indicate the primary source for each type of information listed on the left.

Type of Information		Number of Primary Source
a. Latest ideas and developments by other artists in this area.	4.16,17	______
b. Latest ideas and developments in major art markets like New York, Los Angeles or Chicago.	4.18,19	______
c. Art criticism and esthetics.	4.20,21	______
d. The local art scene.	4.22,23	______
e. What is being shown at important local spaces.	4.24,25	______
f. What is being shown at important national spaces.	4.26,27	______
g. The system of getting exhibited.	4.28,29	______
h. Art history content and techniques.	4.30,31	______
i. Other areas. Please specify: ______________ 4.34	4.32,33	______

INFORMATION SOURCES

1. National journals
2. Local journals and newsletters
3. Local artists
4. Local friends (not artists)
5. Local newspapers
6. Newspapers from outside areas
7. Local art schools and art departments
8. Local museums and art centers
9. Local alternative spaces
10. Outside exhibitors
11. Professional meetings and conferences
12. Artists from out of town
13. Information centers. Specify: ______________ 4.61
14. Other. Please specify: ______________ 4.62

PART IV

The following questions request information about your background and personal characteristics.

4.35,36 25. Your age? ______________

4.37 26. Your sex? 1 ☐ male 2 ☐ female

27. **Your ethnic or racial heritage?**

4.38
1 ☐ Black, Afro-American
2 ☐ Hispanic, Chicano, Mexican-American
3 ☐ Native American, Indian
4 ☐ Oriental, Asian-American
5 ☐ White, Caucasian

28. **How many years have you lived in this area?** _______ years
4.39,40

29. **What is your level of formal training in the visual arts?**

4.41,42
a. No formal training, (self taught). ☐ 01
b. A university or college Bachelor's degree in art. ☐ 02
c. A university or college Master's degree in art. ☐ 03
d. Art classes in a college or accredited art school. ☐ 04
e. Classes or tutoring from an artist or art teacher. ☐ 05
f. Classes at an accredited private art school ☐ 06
g. An accredited art school certificate or diploma. ☐ 07
h. BA or MA in art education. ☐ 08
i. Other. Please Specify: _______________ ☐ 09

30. **What is your highest level of formal education?**

4.43
1 ☐ 8th grade or less
2 ☐ Some high school
3 ☐ Completed high school
4 ☐ Trade school training
5 ☐ Some college or associate degree for 2-year school
6 ☐ College or university graduate
7 ☐ Professional degree (e.g., law, medicine, dentistry)
8 ☐ MA or PhD

31. **When did you complete or stop taking formal training in the visual arts?**

4.44,45
a. _________ years ago.
b. 99 ☐ Still taking formal training
c. 00 ☐ Never had formal training

32. **How long have you been a practicing visual artist?** _________ years
4.46,47

33. **Do you have health insurance?**

4.48
1 ☐ Yes, my own
2 ☐ Yes, a part of a group
3 ☐ Yes, through my spouse
4 ☐ No

4.49 **34.** **Do you have life insurance?** 1 ☐ Yes, my own 2 ☐ Yes, through a group 3 ☐ No

35. **Do you have studio space?**

4.50
1 ☐ Yes, in my home
2 ☐ Yes, in a separate rented space
3 ☐ Yes, in a separate space which I own
4 ☐ Yes, in a rented space which I share with other artists
5 ☐ Yes, in a space which is rent free
6 ☐ Yes, other _______________
4.51
7 ☐ No, I don't

36. **Do you own or rent your place of residence?**

4.52
1 ☐ Own
2 ☐ Rent
3. ☐ Other. Please specify: _______________
4.53

37. **What is your marital status?**

4.54
1 ☐ Married, living with spouse
2 ☐ Married, separated from spouse
3 ☐ Divorced
4 ☐ Never married
5 ☐ Other. Please specify: _______________
4.55

38. **How many dependents do you have who live with you or who you support?** _______________
4.56,57

PART V

39. In this final part we would like to give you an opportunity to raise additional issues, related to the Visual Arts. You may discuss issues raised in the foregoing questionnaire ore areas which are not specifically addressed but which you feel should be considered in the preparation of our report. Continue on additional sheets if you need more space.

x 63,64

Please put questionnaire in enclosed stamped envelope and return. Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B

METHODOLOGY

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Objectives

The multiple objectives of this project demanded an equally comprehensive methodological approach. Of particular importance in this study was the capacity to show the relationship of a variety of characteristics and experiences for each individual artist. The only practical way to accomplish this type of objective was to obtain all the necessary data from each target subject, or through the use of some type of survey.

The second type of objective concerned attitudes and beliefs about the conditions under which artists work, problems they face, and potential solutions to those problems. While a survey could address each of these areas, it was felt that more relevant responses would be obtained by providing an opportunity for interaction among researchers and artists, and among the artists themselves. This would allow the development of ideas and the connection of problems to specific solutions, for both artist and researcher, that was not possible using a simple questionnaire. For this reason, six or more group sessions with artists were held in each of the cities studied.

Finally, the research objectives called for an effort to understand all sides of the exhibition process. This meant the inclusion of perspectives from exhibitors as well as artists. Thus, interviews with exhibitors, at all levels, were held in each of the target cities. These interviews addressed the same issues raised with the artists, but from the perspective of the exhibitor or curator.

In summary, the general objectives of the study were developed from the issues raised by the endowment in its solicitation and put into the theoretical context described in Chapters I and II. The issue areas resulting from this development were operationalized in a set of questions which were asked in a survey and directly to a sample of professional artists in four cities, Washington, DC, San Francisco, Houston and Minneapolis. Information resulting from this process is reported in this monograph. A detailed description of the data collection process and questionnaire development is presented below.

Sample Development

Defining the population. The intent of the study was to examine the behavior and perspectives of "professional visual artists." This population was defined to include the traditional visual art forms, e.g., painting (of all types), sculpture and printmaking, and the more contemporary forms, e.g., video, conceptual, performance, etc. Not included in the initial population description were artists usually described as crafts artists. These include, potters, jewelers, weavers, wood carvers, glass blowers, etc. As the further description of the artist identification process will show, the somewhat imprecise line between "visual artists" and "crafts people" was addressed in terms of exhibition history rather than attempting to precisely distinguish between art forms. This approach was taken for practical reasons, i.e., primarily to allow a simplified procedure for collecting artists' names.

The second characteristic of the target population was that it should be "professional." There are also numerous definitional problems associated with an attempt to identify purely "professional" artists. The solution used for this study was to define the artist in terms of exhibition history. Thus, a professional visual artist was one who had exhibited in a recognized exhibition space. These spaces include: (1) museums; (2) private galleries which show original art as their primary focus or objective; (3) university, college or art school galleries which show original visual art by individuals other than their own students; (4) privately run public spaces which have regular gallery or exhibition showings of original art, e.g., certain banks or large companies; (5) public spaces normally used as art exhibition spaces, e.g., major libraries, community centers, or public buildings; (6) public spaces used occasionally or for special exhibits, e.g., major sculpture shows in parks; (7) artist-run cooperative galleries; and (8) so-called "alternative spaces," which may take the form of a continual space which shows non-mainstream art (e.g., "80 Langston Street" in San Francisco) or a periodic space provided for showing or performing visual works.* Not included in the spaces used for this study were art fairs, mall shows, showing in banks, restaurants, book stores, etc., that are not normally considered to be galleries, shows which represent the periodic outings of art clubs or associations, or galleries which show only the artist's own work (especially the artist's studio or home). In other words, an attempt was made to include only those spaces where some type of professional judgement is made about the work being shown. Beyond this very rudimentary level, no attempt was made to judge the quality of the artists to be included in this study.**

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*This type of space was identified largely through the use of local experts in each of the target cities.

**We realize, of course, that some very good artists show at fairs, etc., and that there are spaces of these types excluded that are juried. The limitations applied represent restriction in the level of effort which could be applied to this aspect of the study and to subsequent survey procedures, rather than an attempt to restrict or exclude a particular type of artist. In effect, a line had to be drawn and the restrictions applied here represent one practical cutting point.

The population of artists, then, included all those who had exhibited at least once in one or more of the specified types of spaces. A professional artist is one who had, at some time, been chosen to exhibit in a professional space.* While these definitions may not be aesthetically satisfying, they provide a relatively easily identified starting point for conducting the research described in this report. That is, the definitions were based on practical as well as theoretical considerations. Artists systematically excluded in this approach are not slighted by their exclusion. They simply belong to a different population which will be studied on other occasions. Specific procedures for identifying and sampling from this population are described in the next section.

Sampling Procedures

Choosing artists for participation in the study was a two-step. process. The first step required the identification of professional artists in each target city. The second involved selecting artists to participate in either the survey or group discussion parts of the study.

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*There are two exceptions to this rule. The first is a general exception which applied to artists who may not have exhibited in the target city, but who were recognized by fellow artists and/or the local art experts as being of "professional" stature or quality. The second exception are artists who showed at a special open show in Washington, DC, in 1979. The names of these artists appeared on our list and a small number (2 - 3) were included in the sample despite the fact that no corroboration for other exhibition history existed. In total, these two exceptions probably did not add more than 10 artists to the lists for each city.

Step one was accomplished as follows:

1) All exhibition spaces which fit the definition provided above were identified in each of the four target cities.* This activity was carried out by local consultants familiar with the "art scene" in each of the cities. Primary sources of information were art directories and telephone books. Other major sources included other individuals familiar with the exhibition possibilities in each city, especially museum curators, art critics, and artists. In two of the cities, major newspaper art critics served as reviewers for the initial lists of spaces. The final lists of spaces included the following types:

	Washington, DC	San Francisco	Houston	Minneapolis
Museum, university, and art school spaces	17	13	10	27
Private gallery and continuously operative "alternative spaces"	99	205	71	78
Artist cooperatives	6	15	2	5
TOTAL SPACES	122	233	83	110

San Francisco is clearly the largest in terms of the total number of different spaces showing local artists. Houston was smallest, although it differed from Washington and Minneapolis as much in terms of the distribution of types of spaces as in the number of spaces. Houston also had only two artist coops; however, it had experienced a rash of gallery closings in the one to two years prior to the development of the list. The so-called alternative spaces were minimal factors in all but San Francisco, which had an established tradition in this area. Houston and Minneapolis really had no such spaces operating regularly at the time of the census conducted for the study.

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*This identification process included relevant spaces inside city limits and in surrounding areas. In "San Francisco," Oakland, Palo Alto, Berkeley, San Mateo and Sausalito were included in the art metropolitan area. "Washington" included spaces in Fairfax County, Virginia, and Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties in Maryland. Baltimore and Annapolis, for example, were not included. Houston included the city and its surrounding suburbs. Minneapolis included St. Paul and suburbs of both cities. Thus, all "cities" represent distinguishable geographic areas which are the homes of many of the artists who exhibit at the usually centrally located exhibition spaces.

As of the time these lists were developed, they probably included over 95 percent of all spaces meeting the criteria and virtually all of the more prominent spaces. From this perspective, then, a total population has been identified.

2) Proprietors from each space were contacted and asked to provide the names and addresses of each local artist who had exhibited in their space during the previous three years. These lists would provide a relatively comprehensive specification of the practicing artists in each city. Identification of known artists who had not exhibited locally during the previous three years was accomplished through word-of-mouth, as described in the footnote on page B-363. The limitation of three years was imposed for practical reasons. First, because the records of many spaces were incomplete for even the current exhibition groups. Second, because high mobility among many artists would mean that many of those who exhibited only prior to three years would have left the area or been otherwise unreachable. Third, many artists who had not exhibited in three years were probably no longer active. Finally, staff and fiscal limits of the study were such that larger numbers of artists who were harder to find or less likely to be

active could not be reasonably accommodated. Thus, whatever the shortcomings, the population of artists included all those who had exhibited during the past three years plus a limited number of others.

In addition to letters, each of the proprietors was contacted by telephone at least once in an attempt to solicit their cooperation. The efforts produced a return rate of about 60 - 80 percent of all spaces over a three-month period. Generally, it was the better-known galleries and museum spaces that were more likely to reply and small, relatively unknown, and out-of-the-way spaces which were less likely to reply. Spaces which showed mostly minority artists, particularly blacks in Washington and Chicanos in Houston, were the least likely to reply. For this reason, special independent efforts were made to identify artists from these groups in both cities.* Beyond these efforts, consultants in all cities made additional efforts to assist exhibition space managers with special logistical problems, and many hours were spent copying lists from exhibitors' records and organizing files in order to produce usable lists of exhibiting artists.

These efforts identified the following numbers of artists in each city: San Francisco, about 2,500; Washington, about 2,200; Houston, 459; and Minneapolis, 693. The rosters for both Washington and San Francisco were pared of names obtained from large organizations, not necessarily exhibitors', where it was not possible to determine if individuals met the criteria, having exhibited in a recognized space in their home city within the previous three years. While probably eliminating many fine artists, this strict application of the selection criteria did much to insure the validity of the artist lists. These reductions left lists of about 1,089 in Washington and 2,200 in San Francisco. Artists on our lists included only those for whom it was possible to obtain some type of mailing address, even if it was only through the gallery which supplied the artist's name. The total number of artists identified in each city assuredly does not constitute all professional artists practicing their art in the four target cities at the time of this study. But they do seem to be representative of the different types of art and levels of exhibition history of the total population group. This conclusion is based on the wide range of exhibition spaces which cooperated in providing lists of artists and the wide distribution of artistic styles, media, and exhibition history represented in the final samples.

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*While it was possible to identify artists in their groups in both cities, subsequent survey return rates undoubtedly left the groups underrepresentative in the final sample.

3) Sampling artists for inclusion in the study was accomplished using a random probability sample in San Francisco and Washington, DC, and included all identified artists in Houston and Minneapolis.* In Washington, 516 artists were chosen and in San Francisco, 521 were selected. Since artists were arranged by medium, to the extent exhibitors supplied this information, the selection procedure used constituted a stratified random sample, with each medium group being represented in each sample in proportion to its representation in the total study population.**

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*Originally only 505 of the 693-member Minneapolis population was included in the sample, but low initial return rates made it necessary to add the additional 188 artists to the sample.

**Although exact figures on these proportions were not maintained.

Much smaller samples were taken for the group meetings held in each city. Also, in each city random sample lists were supplemental with the names of specific artists suggested by the Visual Arts Division of the National Endowment for the Arts or local arts luminaries. Where available, approximately 30 names from each medium category of artist were selected to be asked to come to group sessions to discuss problems and conditions of local artists. The groups included in this process included: (1) painters and sculptors; (2) printmakers and photographers; (3) crafts people;* and (4) "_avant-garde_" artists.**

The final sampling was of exhibitors. In each city exhibitors were divided into three basic groups: (1) museums, college and university galleries, and other public spaces; (2) commercial galleries; and (3) cooperatives and alternative spaces. In Washington, and San Francisco, and Houston commercial galleries were further divided into larger, better known galleries and smaller lesser known galleries. This was done with the assistance of local consultants and experts. Because of small numbers there was no sampling done for the first and third groups. When commercial galleries were split into two groups, all galleries included in the larger, better known group were included in the sample. Those in the group of smaller galleries were randomly sampled so that 15 were chosen in each city. Thus, in each city there were 3 or 4 groups of exhibitors invited to participate in group discussions about the exhibition process in that city. Because of the small number of type 1 (museums, etc.) and type 2 (cooperatives and alternative spaces) spaces no sampling was done and representatives of all were invited. Similarly, a list of 10 to 15 major galleries from each city but Minneapolis were also invited to participate in group discussions. Random samples of 15 were drawn from the remaining commercial galleries.

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*While crafts people were not specifically included, those who appeared because they exhibited in recognized noncraft-oriented spaces were included in the study.

**_Avant-garde_ artists are those whose work is outside the mainstream of contemporary art production, while also not reflecting previous styles. They were separated from the remainder of the artists because of widely publicized problems in making, exhibiting, and/or selling their work. Part of our interest was to examine the validity, the implications of these problems (if they proved to be true).

The second step, selecting artists to participate in the group discussions or general survey, was completed in two phases.

(1) For group discussions artists were divided into three basic categories based on the media information supplied by exhibitors. These categories were (a) painters and sculptors; (b) printmakers, photographers and drawers; (c) avant-garde artists; and (d) craft artists. Group C consisted primarily of artists who worked in the newer forms like video, film/sound, conceptual, environmental, and performance. Multiple forms artists were classified as well as possible based on the information available. These categories were used as a means of insuring that various perspectives were represented in our group discussions and in an attempt to reduce the amount of variance present in any given meeting. We expected that artists working in widely different media might encounter different types of problems and the only way to control for medium differences in the group discussion phase of the research was to preselect group participants. In fact, our information was sometimes inaccurate so that some artists were misclassified. These occasions were rare and they did not create any problems in the conduct of the sessions.

Even within the general categories there was substantial diversity. In anticipation of one other major difference among artists one additional split was made using the artists reputation and exhibition experience. In Washington and San Francisco special groups of artists who were widely known were identified and invited to participate in separate group discussions. These sessions were held because of differences between these artists and less experienced artists identified during the Houston meetings.

The actual selection of artists to participate in group meetings involved two steps. First, in each city the list of professional artists were arranged by medium and a random selection of about 25 individuals from each of the medium categories were drawn. Second, a shorter list of preferred participants, artists known to be active social as well as artistic participants in the art scene, was developed also. These artists were suggested by the study sponsors. In all about 30 artists were invited to each of the group sessions. While the basic samples were randomly drawn, the small number of participants severely reduced the potential for projecting results with a known error but to the larger population subgroups. It did provide a representative sample of artists and exhibitors* which was sufficient to meet the objectives of the group discussions; which was primarily the identification of issues and problems.

Written and oral (telephone) invitations were issued to selected artists and exhibitors in each group. We anticipated that about half to two-thirds of those invited would actually attend the session. In most instances, this prediction was accurate. In a few instances somewhat fewer artists came to the meetings. Minneapolis provided the greatest difficulty in this regard.* For exhibitors attendance was usually good and because some exhibitor groups were small to begin with, special efforts were made to contact and interview space proprietors (owners, curators, directors, etc.) who were unable to attend meetings.

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*Actually, the high proportion of exhibitors selected for group meetings made sampling a nonissue for most types of spaces.

Group Discussions

The group discussions were relatively open forum designed to obtain as much information as possible about working conditions and accessability of exhibition space in each of the four cities. Sessions were guided by one or both of the co-authors. The general purpose of the study and the objectives of the sessions were outlined at the beginning of each meeting.** As discussion moderators, the authors attempted to keep meetings focussed on the relevant topics, but we did not attempt to restrict the responses and exchanges between artists in any other way. Thus, some groups were more oriented toward economic issues, while others focussed on problems of exhibiting, the accessability of space within each city, the types of space available in each city, and, not infrequently, the personality of exhibitors and its impact on their selection of artists. The exhibitors generally focussed on accessability and their approach to the selection of artists to show in their spaces.

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*An incentive of $10.-$15. would have greatly improved attendance and some attitudes.

**The introduction used at each meeting is presented below. It was modified slightly to accommodate the perspective of exhibitors.

We are interested in two basic questions: the process by which professional artists exhibit their work, and the economic conditions under which artists operate. In order to improve our understanding of these questions, and many of the sub-issues related to them, we have undertaken a four-city study designed to provide information about how artists and exhibitors interact, what happens to artists' work, what kinds of exhibition accessability exists for this work, how artists support themselves, and what kind of outside support or system changes might be initiated to improve the position of artists within the system. To provide basic information necessary to evaluate these questions, we have identified professional artists in each city and we are now beginning to ask them how they perceive the artistic opportunities, in the areas in which they work. This meeting is part of that process.

What we want from you is input about such relevant issues as; the kinds of art usually exhibited and sold in Houston, the exhibition opportunities for local artists overall and for specific subgroups of individuals; how the exhibitors, that is, galleries and museums, periodic shows and the like, choose which artists they are going to exhibit; how you go about trying to get your works exhibited; what biases and shortcomings exist in the system; what are the good points in the selection process; how economic factors impact on the system and on what artists do; and how you think the system can be improved, either internally or with help from the outside.

The results of these discussions form the basis of our discussion of issues and conditions in Chapter 1 of the report. They are used as background and counterpoint in the Chapters describing survey results as well. Issues and perspectives identified in the discussions were used to develop the survey questionnaire, which was distributed to a much larger group of artists after the group meetings were completed. All meetings were recorded for later analysis.

While discussions relevant to the major objectives of the study appear throughout the text, there are some specific methodologically oriented issues relevant to this discussion. First, the differences among cities were not as significant as the similarities. Each city had its own orientation, but the problems and issues confronting artists, especially on the basis of their experience level, were very similar. The particular city oriented problems were the availability of certain types of space, the orientation of commercial galleries and museums to local artists, the receptiveness of commercial galleries to inexperienced artists, and the degree to which politics (of getting shows and of support) were a central issue. In Washington there was a greater tendency to focus on political issues. In San Francisco, the political focus was directed more at support issues, particularly the regionalism of selection. Both Houston and Washington artists had a greater preoccupation with New York.

Second, the division of artists into media groups was a worthwhile exercise. There are problems which are unique to the subgroups. Avant-garde artists feel that there are fewer spaces available for them to show and that support (which they feel is generally not forthcoming because of the radical nature of their work) is of greater importance because many are unable to sell their work (because of its physical character, not its quality). Printers and especially photographers feel that their work is undervalued because consumers do not understand the effort required. Both groups also feel the pressure of cheaper reproductions which make it particularly difficult to sell their work. Crafts artists generally work in different markets, often using fairs and small shows as the basis for selling their work. They remain the lack of artistic recognition. Sculptors, who for practical reasons were grouped with painters, perceive special pressures because the generally higher costs (production and selling) of their work limits sales and restricts the number of commercial dealers who are willing to handle their work. Thus, having less media division within discussion groups permitted seemed to promote more focussed discussion.

Third, a separation of artists into more and less successful groups, insofar as we were able to accomplish it, was also a useful lot for identifying and focussing on specific types of problems. Less experienced artists were more concerned with how to interact with commercial dealers, how to find openings, and similar problems related to hustling shows. The more experienced groups had a greater concern with getting works into museum shows, moving to broader markets, advancing to the art centers (particularly New York), problems of artist-dealer business relation, and the media (especially the lack of coverage and conservation biases of critics).

Questionnaire Development

The questionnaire used in the general survey of artists (Appendix A) was a product of specific sponsor objectives, the issues raised in group discussions and conceptual development described in Chapter 2. It was designed to focus on two areas: the economic conditions of artists and the process by which artists attempted to exhibit their work. Additional information was collected on art form and demographic characteristics in order to determine if these factors were in any way related to economic conditions or exhibition process. Data on exhibition history was collected to serve primarily as a dependent variable. Since exhibiting is a major interest of artists once they have have produced their work, we wanted to examine its relationship to other aspects of working conditions, exhibition process and demographic characteristics.

As with all surveys certain compromises must be made between the completeness of the data and the practical limitations of the methodology. The questionnaire was no exception. Information on economic conditions was presented in such a way as to reduce the invasion of respondents' privacy. Exhibition history included only number, type of show and type of space. Issues of the quality of the space, within type, were omitted because of the difficulty in establishing reliable and valid measures. Because the study was national (a one time survey), it was not possible to collect accurate developmental information. Conclusions about the nature of changes occurring over time had to be inferred from the cross sectional results. Issues of time use were treated only as general categories (most, some, etc.) in most instances because of problems (for respondents) in reconstructing prior events. Similarly, in our questions on the exhibition process had to be substituted for specific event by event accounts of the attempts of artists to exhibit their work.*

Despite these methodological limitations, the items concluded in our questionnaire are the most complete data base ever assembled on a large sample of working artists. With the assistance and advise of National Endowment for the Arts staff members we were able to develop an instrument which supported the desired analysis of both economic and process issues in a highly complex approach.

Survey Administration

For practical reasons (funding limitations) the survey administration procedure developed for this study was direct mail. The final goal was to administer about 2000 surveys to the identified population of professional artists. In Houston and Minneapolis this meant that all identified artists would receive a questionnaire. Artists were sent letters alerting them of the survey and requesting their cooperation. The survey followed shortly thereafter. A reminder post card was sent about 10 days after the survey and, for those who had not returned surveys within three weeks, a second questionnaire was sent by registered mail. (All connection between the individual respondent and the survey response was destroyed once this monitoring procedure was completed. There is now no way to link respondents to their answers to questions or to distinguish respondent from nonrespondent artists.)

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*A longitudinal, real time survey on these processes would obviously yield the most useful data on these activities.

In Washington and San Francisco samples of artists were randomly drawn to correspond (approximately) with the number of artists identified in Houston and Minneapolis. The return results are reported in Table 2.1. While the overall return rate (slightly less than 50%) might have been better, we feel it is relatively good considering the length of the questionnaire.

The returns for cities varied somewhat* creating a problem of how to present aggregated data. We chose to weigh aggregated results so that each city contributes an equal weight to overall results. This removes the bias which might have been created in situations where cities with larger returns, particularly Minneapolis, had significantly different outcomes from the other cities. The weights used were based on the selective proportions of the total return sample represented by each city. Thus, Washington and San Francisco results were multiplied by 1.2965 and Houston results were multiplied by 1.5026. Minneapolis results were the base and stayed at 1.0. This procedure produced a weighted sample of 1172 respondents, which is the basis for our presentation of weighted results.

Analyses procedures are described in each Chapter as they are presented. A detailed description of the clustering approach is presented in Appendix G.

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*Washington = 226
San Francisco = 226
Minneapolis = 293
Houston = 195

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

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TABLE 1. LEVEL OF FORMAL EDUCATION (INCLUDING ART)

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Some High School or Less	0.8 (7)	0.5	1.8	-	1.0
Completed High School	5.1 (47)	5.9	5.0	4.5	5.2
Some College or Trade School Training	15.5 (144)	17.6	10.8	12.7	22.9
Bachelors Degree	39.5 (362)	36.7	34.7	44.2	39.1
Professional Degree (Law, Medicine, Dentistry, etc.)	1.6 (15)	2.3	1.8	0.7	2.1
Masters or Ph.D. Degree	38.0 (352)	37.1	45.9	38.0	29.7
Total (N)	100.0 (927)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (222)	100.0 (292)	100.0 (192)

TABLE 2. SELF CHARACTERIZATION OF WORK: 1975-1978*

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Representational Figurative	15.5 (146)	14.2	21.7	14.7	11.3
Abstract/ Expressionist	9.6 (90)	12.4	11.1	6.1	9.7
Surrealism, Fantasy	4.9 (46)	5.8	4.9	1.7	8.7
Assemblage	7.5 (71)	8.0	4.9	10.2	6.2
Nature, Landscape	5.3 (50)	5.8	3.5	7.5	3.6
Impressionist	0.7 (7)	0.4	0.4	0.7	1.5
Conceptual	1.9 (18)	1.3	2.2	1.4	3.1
Photorealism	1.4 (13)	0.9	2.2	1.4	1.0
Non-objective	2.5 (24)	2.2	0.9	3.8	3.1
Relief	0.9 (9)	1.3	0.4	1.4	0.5
Illistration	0.9 (9)	1.3	0.3	1.0	0.5
Humorous	0.6 (6)	-	0.4	1.0	1.0
Political	1.6 (15)	0.9	2.2	1.7	1.5
Functional	5.6 (53)	2.7	4.9	8.5	5.6
Mixed Media	11.4 (107)	11.5	10.6	8.9	15.9
Different Categories of Material Working With	15.7 (148)	15.5	17.2	17.1	12.3
Did Not Elaborate or Chose to Talk About How They Feel About Their Work	13.6 (128)	15.9	11.5	13.0	14.4
Total (N)	100.0 (940)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (253)	100.0 (195)
Currently Working in Different Form Than that in Which Worked and Exhibited in Last 3 Years	4.0 (38)	5.7	2.6	5.1	2.0

TABLE 3. AGE BY ART FORM*

ART FORM		AGE (Years)					TOTAL (N)
		18-23	30-39	40-49	50-53	60-older	
Painting	%	11.5	32.2	26.3	19.0	11.0	100.0 (363)
Sculpture	%	26.0	29.3	19.1	16.2	9.4	100.0 (152)
Printmaking	%	22.4	31.6	18.4	22.4	5.2	100.0 (76)
Drawing	%	30.0	43.8	20.6	2.8	2.8	100.0 (47)
Photography	%	29.6	36.6	21.2	6.8	5.7	100.0 (113)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Environmental Performance Installation	%	32.1	48.4	12.9	6.6	-	100.0 (35)
Crafts	%	14.0	40.1	23.2	17.1	5.7	100.0 (63)
Multiple Visual Form	%	4.0	45.8	19.1	23.1	8.0	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	%	17.7	35.8	20.4	13.8	12.3	100.0 (243)
COLUMN TOTAL	%	18.7	34.8	22.0	15.4	9.1	100.00 (1117)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 4. GENDER BY ART FORM*

ART FORM		SEX		TOTAL (N)
		Male	Female	
Printing	%	44.2	55.8	100.0 (372)
Sculpture	%	53.1	46.9	100.0 (155)
Printmaking	%	38.2	61.8	100.0 (76)
Drawing	%	41.5	58.5	100.0 (48)
Photography	%	67.6	32.4	100.0 (114)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Environmental Installation Performance	%	51.6	48.4	100.0 (35)
Crafts	%	37.1	62.9	100.0 (66)
Multiple Visual Forms	%	36.0	64.0	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	%	53.0	47.0	100.0 (247)
COLUMN TOTAL	%	48.8	51.2	100.0 (1138)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5. RACE BY ART FORM*

ART FORM		RACE		TOTAL (N)
		Non-White	White	
Printing	%	10.1	89.9	100.0 (374)
Sculpture	%	4.3	95.7	100.0 (155)
Printmaking	%	5.1	84.9	100.0 (76)
Drawing	%	16.8	33.2	100.0 (49)
Photography	%	11.0	89.0	100.0 (114)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Environmental Installation Performance	%	10.8	89.2	100.0 (33)
Crafts	%	0.0	100.0	100.0 (66)
Multiple Visual Forms	%	10.3	89.7	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	%	13.2	86.2	100.0 (251)
COLUMN TOTAL	%	9.5	95.0	100.0 (1143)

---

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 6. ART EDUCATION BY ART FORM*

ART FORM		ART EDUCATION				TOTAL (N)
		Masters Degree	Bachelors Degree	Accredited Program	No Formal Training	
Painting	%	34.0	34.4	27.2	4.5	100.0 (378)
Sculpture	%	29.4	25.7	34.3	10.6	100.0 (156)
Printmaking	%	47.1	33.1	19.8	0.0	100.0 (78)
Drawing	%	19.6	47.0	28.1	5.3	100.0 (49)
Photography	%	24.4	21.2	31.6	22.8	100.0 (114)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Environmental Installation Performance	%	55.3	21.2	16.9	6.6	100.0 (35)
Crafts	%	23.9	30.7	35.1	10.3	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	%	12.0	44.0	44.0	0.0	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	%	34.0	32.7	29.5	3.8	100.0 (251)
COLUMN TOTAL	%	32.3	31.5	29.2	7.0	100.0 (1155)

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*Totals based on weighted sample.

APPENDIX D

ECONOMIC AND WORK CONDITIONS

TABLE 1. ARTIST'S TOTAL INCOME--1978

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)
$ 0	12.5 (147)
$ 1- 2,999	18.5 (217)
$ 3,000- 4,999	10.7 (123)
$ 5,000- 6,999	9.4 (110)
$ 7,000- 9,999	11.3 (132)
$10,000-12,999	9.4 (113)
$13,000-15,999	6.6 (78)
$16,000-19,999	7.1 (83)
$20,000-29,999	8.4 (95)
$30,000-49,999	5.0 (56)
$50,000-plus	1.2 (15)
Total (weighted N)	100.0 (1172)
Median*	$7,000

---

*Approximately equal to.

TABLE 2. INCOME FROM THE SALE OF ART WORKS BY CITY

	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 0	23.5	21.2	27.4	23.1
$ 1- 500	24.5	17.7	23.9	20.6
$ 501- 1,000	19.5	12.3	14.5	21.4
$ 1,001- 2,000	13.0	14.3	14.4	10.4
$ 2,001- 4,000	10.5	12.8	9.5	13.9
$ 4,001-10,000	6.0	7.4	7.6	14.5
$10,000-plus	3.0	14.3	2.7	6.9
Total (N)	100.0 (200)	100.0 (203)	100.0 (263)	100.0 (173)

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF ART PIECES SOLD IN 1978 BY CITY

	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
No Sales	15.6	17.2	22.6	12.4
1-2 Works	17.2	11.5	14.4	18.4
3-4 Works	17.4	13.9	12.2	15.7
5-9 Works	17.0	17.7	15.1	14.0
10-20 Works	15.6	19.1	16.9	17.8
21 plus Works	16.5	20.6	18.7	21.6
Total (N)	100.0 (218)	100.0 (209)	100.0 (278)	100.0 (185)

TABLE 4. INCOME FROM COMMISSIONED WORK IN 1978 BY CITY

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 1- 200	20.6 (36)	34.3	21.0	14.8	17.6
$ 201- 500	26.3 (46)	21.9	23.7	37.0	19.6
$ 501-1,000	18.9 (33)	18.8	21.0	13.0	23.5
$1,001-2,000	15.4 (27)	12.5	18.4	14.8	15.7
$2,001-plus	18.9 (33)	12.5	15.8	20.4	23.5
Total (N)	100.0 (175)	100.0 (32)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (51)
Median (approximately)	$600	$475	$550	$500	$750

TABLE 5. INCOME FROM GRANTS AND AWARDS IN 1978 BY CITY

	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
$ 1- 100	26.3 (39)	42.3	25.0	20.4	27.1
$ 101- 250	17.9 (26)	30.8	10.7	20.4	10.8
$ 251- 500	16.6 (24)	7.7	17.9	16.7	21.6
$ 501-1,000	15.9 (23)	7.7	21.4	9.3	27.0
$1,001-2,500	11.7 (17)	7.7	10.7	16.7	8.1
$2,501-plus	11.0 (16)	3.8	14.3	16.7	5.4
Total (N)	100.0 (145)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (37)
Median (approximately)	$365	$125	$475	$375	$375

TABLE 6. ART INCOME BY AGE*

ART INCOME			AGE			TOTAL
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-53	60-over	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
No Income from Art	30.8	23.6	18.7	23.4	34.8	24.8
$ 1- 500	26.7	17.5	16.7	16.7	10.6	18.3
$ 501- 1,000	15.9	15.0	13.0	15.5	16.0	14.9
$ 1,001- 2,000	8.1	11.6	16.2	15.0	7.5	12.1
$ 2,001- 4,000	9.6	13.0	11.4	12.4	13.5	12.0
$ 4,001-10,000	4.6	11.7	13.3	8.2	6.5	9.7
$10,001-plus	4.3	7.6	10.8	8.8	11.1	8.2
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (209)	100.0 (391)	100.0 (247)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (101)	100.0 (1123)

Chi Square = 54.2 with 24 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0004

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 7. ART INCOME BY GENDER*

ART INCOME	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL %
None	22.4	28.7	25.6
$ 1- 500	16.4	19.8	18.2
$ 501- 1,000	13.3	15.9	14.6
$ 1,001- 2,000	11.6	12.2	11.9
$ 2,001- 4,000	12.2	11.4	11.8
$ 4,001-10,000	11.8	7.8	9.7
$10,001-plus	12.3	4.2	8.1
Total (N)	100.0 (556)	100.0 (587)	100.0 (1144)

Chi Square = 35.534 with 6 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.000.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 8. ART INCOME BY RACE

ART INCOME	RACE Non-White %	 White %	TOTAL %
No Income from Art	33.0	24.9	25.7
$ 1- 500	16.8	18.5	18.3
$ 501- 1,000	16.6	14.0	14.3
$ 1,001- 2,000	6.1	12.3	11.7
$ 2,001- 4,000	11.9	11.8	11.8
$ 4,001-10,000	5.1	10.2	9.7
$10,001-plus	10.5	8.2	8.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (1042)	100.0 (1152)

Chi Square = 9.742 with 6 degrees of freedom. Significance = .136.

TABLE 9. NONART EMPLOYMENT IN 1978 BY CITY

JOB	COMBINED SAMPLE % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
Professional or Technical	21.4 (72)	30.0	17.1	21.4	17.6
Administration	8.0 (27)	7.1	3.9	16.9	9.5
Sales	8.9 (30)	10.0	3.9	7.7	14.9
Clerical	14.2 (48)	24.3	10.5	12.0	12.2
Services	12.2 (41)	10.0	19.7	9.4	10.8
Manual	20.2 (68)	2.9	27.6	23.9	23.0
Farm Labor	1.2 (4)	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0
Housecare*	13.9 (47)	15.7	17.1	12.0	12.2
Total (N)	100.0 (337)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (76)	100.0 (117)	100.0 (74)

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*Includes "housewives."

TABLE 10. AGE BY SUPPORT SYSTEM*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	AGE					TOTAL
	18-29 %	30-39 %	40-49 %	50-59 %	60-over %	% (N)
Low Income/High Support	0.0	37.9	34.8	0.0	27.3	100.0 (9)
Medium Income/High Support	9.9	38.2	17.6	30.5	3.8	100.0 (26)
High Income/High Support	5.6	27.8	31.3	26.7	8.6	100.0 (156)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	34.9	27.2	21.3	16.6	0.0	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	28.8	47.3	12.2	7.3	4.4	100.0 (59)
High Income/Medium to High Support	11.4	49.1	25.9	9.9	3.7	100.0 (70)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	57.1	35.5	4.2	0.0	3.2	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	27.0	36.1	21.6	6.4	9.0	100.0 (75)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	7.1	33.3	30.8	15.1	13.7	100.0 (96)
Low Income/Low Support	45.7	34.9	7.0	7.2	5.2	100.0 (164)
Medium Income/Low Support	20.3	51.4	14.1	9.2	5.1	100.0 (146)
High Income/Low Support	4.4	22.4	36.5	18.8	17.9	100.0 (99)

Chi Square = 264.630 with 44 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 44.

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 11. GENDER BY SUPPORT SYSTEM*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL % (N)
Low Income/High Support	42.6	57.4	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	10.7	89.3	100.0 (26)
High Income/High Support	3.6	96.4	100.0 (156)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	71.0	29.0	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	44.7	55.3	100.0 (59)
High Income/Medium to High Support	37.2	62.8	100.0 (71)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	46.5	53.5	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	72.6	27.4	100.0 (76)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	75.4	24.6	100.0 (97)
Low Income/Low Support	51.3	48.7	100.0 (167)
Medium Income/Low Support	72.2	27.8	100.0 (147)
High Income/Low Support	89.7	10.3	100.0 (95)

Chi Square = 287.478 with 11 degrees of freedom.

Significance = 0.0

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 12. RACE BY SUPPORT SYSTEM*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	NON-WHITE %	WHITE %	TOTAL % (N)
Low Income/High Support	0.0	100.0	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	9.9	90.1	100.0 (27)
High Income/High Support	2.3	97.7	100.0 (158)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	24.3	75.7	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	14.2	85.8	100.0 (59)
High Income/Medium to High Support	11.0	89.0	100.0 (72)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	9.0	91.0	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	9.1	90.9	100.0 (76)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	13.7	86.3	100.0 (97)
Low Income/Low Support	14.2	85.8	100.0 (164)
Medium Income/Low Support	11.9	88.1	100.0 (147)
High Income/Low Support	6.4	93.6	100.0 (97)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	10.2 (97)	89.8 (859)	100.0 (955)

Chi Square = 23.156 with 11 degrees of freedom.

Significance = .0168.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

475

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TABLE 13. TYPE OF HEALTH INSURANCE BY SUPPORT SYSTEM*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	HEALTH INSURANCE Own %	Group %	Spouse %	No Insurance %	TOTAL % (N)
Low Income/High Support	30.6	45.4	12.0	12.0	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	8.8	5.0	75.6	10.7	100.0 (26)
High Income/High Support	9.0	6.9	78.7	3.7	100.0 (154)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	15.4	29.0	28.4	27.2	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	24.5	32.9	22.6	19.9	100.0 (59)
High Income/Medium to High Support	8.8	23.5	67.6	1.5	100.0 (68)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	27.1	13.9	4.2	54.9	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	20.8	48.6	11.1	19.4	100.0 (72)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	16.6	63.3	20.0	0.0	100.0 (90)
Low Income/Low Support	23.3	31.9	1.8	43.6	100.0 (163)
Medium Income/Low Support	21.3	63.1	1.4	14.2	100.0 (141)
High Income/Low Support	15.8	77.9	6.3	1.0	100.0 (95)

Chi Square = 680.0 with 55 degrees of freedom. Significance = .0000.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 14. TYPE OF RESIDENCE BY SUPPORT SYSTEM*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	RESIDENCE TYPE			TOTAL
	Own Home %	Rent Home %	Other %	% (N)
Low Income/High Support	63.9	36.1	0.0	100.0 (11)
Medium Income/High Support	89.1	10.9	0.0	100.0 (24)
High Income/High Support	92.4	5.9	1.6	100.0 (158)
Low Income/Medium to High Support	37.9	54.4	7.7	100.0 (17)
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	58.2	41.8	0.0	100.0 (60)
High Income/Medium to High Support	88.7	11.3	0.0	100.0 (72)
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	26.1	69.0	4.9	100.0 (31)
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	56.1	42.0	0.0	100.0 (75)
High Income/Medium to Low Support	89.5	10.5	0.0	100.0 (98)
Low Income/Low Support	19.5	73.9	6.5	100.0 (162)
Medium Income/Low Support	48.7	48.9	2.4	100.0 (147)
High Income/Low Support	88.7	10.0	1.3	100.0 (97)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	63.8	33.9	2.2	100.0 (954)

Chi Square = 342.78 with 33 degrees of freedom. Significance = .0000.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 15. EXPENDITURES: MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT BY CITY

	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
No Expenses	4.2	2.1	2.3	5.2
\$ 1- 250	26.5	8.1	21.1	9.3
\$ 251- 500	22.7	15.5	20.9	16.1
\$ 501- 750	8.5	8.2	10.1	4.0
\$ 751- 1,000	14.3	18.9	15.1	15.6
\$ 1,001- 1,500	9.0	11.8	9.3	9.2
\$ 1,501- 2,000	4.2	8.3	5.8	10.4
\$ 2,001- 3,000	3.7	11.9	6.9	11.6
\$ 3,001- 5,000	3.7	10.3	4.7	9.2
\$ 5,001-10,000	2.7	3.1	1.9	4.7
\$10,001-plus	0.5	1.5	1.2	6.4
Total (N)	100.0 (189)	100.0 (194)	100.0 (258)	100.0 (173)

TABLE 16. EXPENDITURES: STUDIO RENT AND RELATED COSTS BY CITY

	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
No Expenses	48.5	27.0	39.5	35.5
$ 1- 500	18.3	19.4	21.8	13.3
$ 501- 1,000	13.8	16.1	19.5	19.7
$ 1,001- 2,000	10.7	20.6	13.8	13.8
$ 2,001- 4,000	7.7	11.8	4.6	12.1
$ 4,001-10,000	1.0	4.9	0.0	5.4
$10,001-plus	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.8
Total (N)	100.0 (196)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (261)	100.0 (166)

TABLE 17. EXPENDITURES: EXHIBITION RELATED COSTS BY CITY

	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
No Expenses	16.7	21.7	23.7	37.0
$ 1- 250	40.2	30.3	37.5	23.0
$ 251- 500	23.0	21.7	19.8	13.9
$ 501- 750	4.6	3.4	5.6	18.8
$ 751-1,000	7.5	5.2	5.2	9.7
$1,001-1,500	1.1	5.1	3.5	4.8
$1,501-3,000	4.6	6.3	3.4	3.7
$3,001-plus	2.3	6.3	1.3	3.0
Total (N)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (175)	100.0 (232)	100.0 (165)

TABLE 18. PRODUCTION COSTS BY GENDER*

PRODUCTION COSTS	MALE % (N)	FEMALE % (N)	TOTAL % (N)
$ 0	9.2 (51)	16.5 (97)	
$ 1- 500	12.5 (70)	14.6 (86)	
$ 501- 1,000	12.5 (69)	16.2 (95)	
$ 1,001- 2,000	17.2 (96)	23.2 (136)	
$ 2,001- 4,000	22.4 (125)	18.1 (107)	
$ 4,001-10,000	20.6 (114)	10.8 (63)	
$10,001-over	5.6 (31)	0.6 (4)	
Total (N)	48.6 (556)	51.4 (587)	100.0 (1144)

Chi Square = 64.47160 with 6 degrees of freedom
Significance = .0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample. 481

TABLE 19. PRODUCTION COSTS BY RACE

PRODUCTION COSTS	MALE % (N)	FEMALE % (N)	TOTAL % (N)
$ 0	14.1 (15)	12.7 (132)	
$ 1- 500	15.2 (17)	13.6 (142)	
$ 501- 1,000	17.0 (19)	14.0 (146)	
$ 1,001- 2,000	15.9 (17)	20.4 (213)	
$ 2,001- 4,000	19.0 (21)	20.4 (213)	
$ 4,001-10,000	15.6 (17)	15.5 (162)	
$10,001-over	3.3 (4)	3.3 (34)	
Total (N)	9.6 (110)	90.4 (1042)	100.0 (1152)

Chi Square = 2.06307 with 6 degrees of freedom
Significance = .91

TABLE 20. ARTISTS TOTAL EXPENDITURES BY ART FORM*

ART FORM	EXPENSES None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,000-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	TOTAL % (N)
Painting	10.8	10.1	14.5	18.5	23.2	15.4	7.6	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	12.1	9.5	9.3	20.7	27.8	16.2	4.4	100.0 (157)
Printmaking	11.6	5.0	10.2	20.3	26.2	20.5	6.2	100.0 (78)
Drawing	5.7	21.9	28.6	7.4	24.5	9.2	2.7	100.0 (49)
Photography	9.8	12.6	14.3	15.9	23.8	16.8	6.8	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	6.6	17.5	3.7	9.5	39.5	20.4	2.9	100.0 (35)
Crafts	17.7	21.9	7.6	16.7	13.2	15.8	7.0	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	10.0	5.2	15.9	30.6	19.1	4.0	15.1	100.0 (25)
Other	15.8	7.6	8.2	14.7	23.0	24.9	5.9	100.0 (253)
COLUMN TOTAL	12.1	10.7	12.0	17.3	23.9	17.7	6.4	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 90.067 with 48 degrees of freedom. Significance = .0002

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 21. HOUSEHOLD SUPPORT BY TOTAL WORK RELATED EXPENSES*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	EXPENSES							TOTAL
	None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	%
Low Income/High Support	12.0	0.0	21.3	33.3	12.0	12.0	9.3	1.1
Medium Income/High Support	22.5	18.7	15.7	18.3	19.8	5.0	0.0	2.7
High Income/High Support	10.1	10.0	16.6	24.3	24.1	13.1	1.9	16.4
Low Income/Medium to High Support	0.0	29.0	19.5	7.7	27.2	16.6	0.0	1.7
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	8.4	4.6	5.9	17.5	44.3	15.4	3.8	6.2
High Income/Medium to High Support	5.4	9.1	17.0	11.6	20.7	23.5	12.8	7.5
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	8.4	10.6	18.1	4.9	38.4	19.7	0.0	3.2
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	5.5	13.0	7.0	17.8	29.5	21.6	5.5	8.1
High Income/Medium to Low Support	12.3	9.6	15.2	16.6	14.2	22.8	9.4	10.2
Low Income/Low Support	7.0	12.5	10.4	21.9	32.0	16.1	0.0	17.5
Medium Income/Low Support	5.1	5.0	9.7	19.7	26.6	23.8	10.0	15.4
High Income/Low Support	5.0	17.7	14.2	6.6	21.5	19.0	16.0	10.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (75)	100.0 (104)	100.0 (124)	100.0 (171)	100.0 (255)	100.0 (179)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (967)

Chi Square = 144.78963 with 66 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 22. PRODUCTION EXPENSES BY TYPE OF STUDIO SPACE*

EXPENSES	At Home %	Separate Rented %	Separate Owned %	Shared Rented %	Rent Free %	Other %	No Studio Space %	ROW TOTAL %
$ 0	14.8	5.6	6.3	12.2	14.8	8.8	31.1	13.2
$ 1- 500	15.9	1.7	4.1	3.4	15.5	19.6	44.1	13.6
$ 501- 1,000	15.5	10.4	11.8	20.4	7.7	16.9	7.1	14.3
$ 1,001- 2,000	18.4	21.9	16.6	35.1	33.1	17.6	5.3	20.0
$ 2,001- 4,000	18.1	29.1	26.9	20.9	18.5	21.5	8.3	20.1
$ 4,001-10,000	14.1	25.8	27.0	7.8	8.0	15.7	4.1	15.5
$10,001-over	3.1	5.5	7.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	3.2
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (688)	100.0 (152)	100.0 (192)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (43)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (1158)

Chi Square = 147.16737 with 48 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 23. TOTAL WORK-RELATED EXPENSES BY STUDIO SPACE*

EXPENSES	At Home %	Separate Rented %	Separate Owned %	Shared Rented %	Rent Free %	Other %	No Studio Space %	TOTAL %
$ 0	13.5	4.7	4.7	12.2	10.5	6.5	26.4	11.7
$ 1- 500	12.0	1.7	4.1	3.4	12.3	10.6	40.4	10.7
$ 501- 1,000	14.6	8.4	9.7	11.6	0.0	8.3	10.8	12.2
$ 1,001- 2,000	16.4	14.2	11.8	32.3	21.3	30.5	9.9	17.4
$ 2,001- 4,000	21.3	31.2	26.2	30.1	38.3	22.0	8.3	23.8
$ 4,001-10,000	16.0	28.7	26.9	10.3	15.1	22.2	4.1	17.7
$10,001-up	6.2	10.9	16.6	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	6.5
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (688)	100.0 (152)	100.0 (92)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (43)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (1158)

Chi Square = 206.11859 with 48 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000
Contingency Coefficient = 0.17186

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 24. HOUSEHOLD SUPPORT BY TYPE OF STUDIO SPACE*

INCOME AND SUPPORT LEVEL	TYPE OF STUDIO SPACE				
	At Home or Own a Separate Studio %	Rent or Share Rent %	Rent Free %	Other %	No Studio Space %
Low Income/High Support	1.2	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Medium Income/High Support	2.5	3.1	0.0	7.3	5.7
High Income/High Support	16.3	17.9	10.6	12.2	22.9
Low Income/Medium to High Support	2.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.9
Medium Income/Medium to High Support	5.4	9.7	14.9	0.0	5.7
High Income/Medium to High Support	7.6	9.7	2.1	0.0	8.6
Low Income/Medium to Low Support	3.4	3.1	4.3	0.0	2.9
Medium Income/Medium to Low Support	6.2	12.8	10.6	12.2	0.0
High Income/Medium to Low Support	10.3	9.2	10.6	19.5	0.0
Low Income/Low Support	16.0	16.9	27.7	19.5	25.7
Medium Income/Low Support	16.6	11.8	10.6	22.0	8.6
High Income/Low Support	12.3	3.1	8.5	7.3	17.1
Total (N)	100.0 (643)	100.0 (195)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (35)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 25. NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK SPENT ON ART ACTIVITIES BY ART FORM

ART FORM	NUMBER OF HOURS					TOTAL
	0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-over	
	%	%	%	%	%	% (N)
Painting	20.7	30.2	20.9	10.1	18.0	100.0 (375)
Sculpture	22.3	22.3	18.6	17.5	19.3	100.0 (155)
Printmaking	14.2	27.7	14.3	23.8	20.0	100.0 (73)
Drawing	23.8	35.3	24.3	8.6	8.0	100.0 (47)
Photography	27.6	35.0	18.0	7.5	11.9	100.0 (111)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	30.1	17.4	28.9	8.9	14.8	100.0 (34)
Crafts	21.9	21.5	10.1	14.5	32.1	100.0 (68)
Multiple Visual Forms	9.5	17.8	36.9	24.1	11.6	100.0 (24)
Other	16.5	22.7	19.6	20.8	20.4	100.0 (245)
COLUMN TOTAL						100.0 (1133)

Chi Square = 68.97452 with 32 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0002
Contingency Coefficient = 0.23953

D-27
425

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 26. ARTIST'S INCOME BY TIME DEVOTED TO WORK IN STUDIO*

NUMBER OF HOURS	TOTAL PERSONAL EARNINGS										ROW TOTAL
	$0 to $2,999 Row %	$3,000 to $4,999 Row %	$5,000 to $6,999 Row %	$7,000 to $9,999 Row %	$10,000 to $12,999 Row %	$13,000 to $15,999 Row %	$16,000 to $19,999 Row %	$20,000 to $29,999 Row %	$30,000 to $49,000 Row %	$50,000 and over Row %	(N)
0-10	34.5	7.1	6.0	14.0	11.0	4.9	7.8	7.4	7.1	0.3	(311)
	32.0	18.6	17.3	34.1	31.6	21.0	31.0	25.4	37.9	6.9	
11-20	32.2	9.1	11.2	9.1	8.0	8.9	5.8	9.7	5.5	0.4	(291)
	28.0	22.4	31.2	20.7	21.6	35.2	21.4	31.4	27.5	8.9	
21-30	29.5	14.7	9.5	11.0	9.2	6.5	7.9	9.4	1.6	0.6	(209)
	10.5	26.0	19.1	18.0	17.9	18.7	21.1	21.7	5.6	8.9	
31-40	24.2	12.2	10.0	13.7	7.8	7.7	9.3	6.3	6.0	2.7	(149)
	10.4	15.4	14.4	16.1	10.8	15.7	17.7	10.4	15.2	28.3	
41-over	24.2	14.1	12.4	9.6	13.2	4.7	4.7	6.8	5.4	4.6	(147)
	10.7	17.5	17.5	11.1	18.1	9.4	8.8	11.1	13.7	46.9	
COLUMN TOTAL	30.2	10.7	9.4	11.5	9.7	6.6	7.1	8.1	5.3	1.3	100.0
(N)	(335)	(119)	(104)	(127)	(108)	(73)	(78)	(90)	(58)	(14)	(1108)

Chi Square = 67.36937 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0012
Contingenty Coefficient = 0.23943

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 27. TOTAL WORK-RELATED EXPENSES BY TIME DEVOTED TO WORK IN STUDIO*

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	EXPENSES None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,000-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	TOTAL % (N)
0-10	15.2	28.2	17.5	18.8	17.2	7.2	0.9	100.0 (311)
11-20	10.2	8.4	16.8	24.2	22.7	14.1	3.5	100.0 (291)
21-30	9.3	5.4	7.2	17.8	32.6	21.1	6.6	100.0 (209)
31-40	6.7	1.7	7.2	10.0	31.9	27.7	14.9	100.0 (149)
41-over	8.1	2.4	5.0	10.2	21.1	35.7	17.5	100.0 (147)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	10.7	10.3	12.3	17.7	24.1	18.2	6.8	100.0 (1108)

Chi Square = 262.09 with 24 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0
Contingency Coefficient = 0.000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 28. STUDIO TIME BY GENDER

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	MALE % (N)	FEMALE % (N)	TOTAL % (N)
0-10	25.8	30.3	
11-20	24.5	27.7	
21-30	19.2	19.2	
31-40	14.5	12.8	
41-Up	16.0	10.0	
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	49.3 (535)	50.7 (550)	100.0 (1085)

Chi Square = 11.14357 with 4 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0250

TABLE 29. STUDIO TIME BY RACE

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK	RACE		
	Minorities % (N)	White % (N)	Total % (N)
0-10	34.7	27.6	
11-20	19.4	26.9	
21-30	16.5	19.1	
31-40	16.9	13.2	
41-Up	12.5	13.2	
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	9.4 (103)	90.6 (989)	100.0 (1093)

Chi Square = 5.01410 with 4 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.2859

429

TABLE 30. ARTIST'S INCOME BY PRODUCTION TIME*

PROPORTION OF TIME USED	TOTAL PERSONAL EARNINGS										ROW TOTAL
	$0 to $2,999 %	$3,000 to $4,999 %	$5,000 to $6,999 %	$7,000 to $9,999 %	$10,000 to $12,999 %	$13,000 to $15,999 %	$16,000 to $19,999 %	$20,000 to $29,999 %	$30,000 to $49,000 %	$50,000 and over %	% (N)
Most Time	28.0	12.0	9.3	9.2	9.1	7.5	7.9	9.5	5.8	1.8	100.0 (607)
Some Time	37.5	9.7	9.7	12.5	8.4	5.2	5.9	6.6	4.2	0.4	100.0 (323)
Little Time	27.6	9.6	9.7	14.8	12.6	4.4	6.0	9.4	6.0	0.0	100.0 (127)
No Time	29.5	8.6	11.5	16.1	12.4	10.1	2.0	5.8	1.5	2.3	100.0 (65)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)											100.0 (1122)

Chi Square = 35.31940 with 27 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.1310
Contingency Coefficient = 0.17467

D-32
430

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 31. ARTIST'S INCOME BY EXERIMENTING TIME*

PROPORTION OF TIME USED	TOTAL PERSONAL EARNINGS										
	$0 to $2,999 %	$3,000 to $4,999 %	$5,000 to $6,999 %	$7,000 to $9,999 %	$10,000 to $12,999 %	$13,000 to $15,999 %	$16,000 to $19,999 %	$20,000 to $29,999 %	$30,000 to $49,000 %	$50,000 and over %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
Most Time	30.9	13.7	10.9	12.8	8.8	7.2	4.6	7.6	3.1	0.5	100.0 (309)
Some Time	32.0	10.4	7.1	10.8	9.8	6.3	8.4	8.3	5.3	1.5	100.0 (579)
Little Time	27.2	6.6	13.7	10.2	9.0	6.3	7.1	10.4	8.0	1.4	100.0 (204)
No Time	34.2	9.6	9.6	17.1	12.3	3.5	3.5	10.2	0.0	0.0	100.0 (37)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	30.9	10.6	9.4	11.5	9.5	6.4	7.0	8.6	5.0	1.2	100.0 (1129)

Chi Square = 35.086 with 27 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.1367
Contingency Coefficient = 0.17386

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 32. ART-WORK RELATED EXPENSES BY PRODUCTION TIME*

PROPORTION OF TIME USED	EXPENSES							TOTAL
	None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,000-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$1,001-up %	% (N)
Most Time	12.2	7.5	13.8	20.4	23.8	19.3	3.1	100.0 (607)
Some Time	10.1	14.8	18.2	19.9	21.5	10.7	4.8	100.0 (323)
Little Time	12.1	28.7	7.3	28.1	9.4	12.6	1.8	100.0 (127)
No Time	23.3	29.8	12.6	7.8	8.0	13.5	0.0	100.0 (65)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	12.5	13.3	14.2	20.4	20.6	15.7	3.2	100.0 (1122)

Chi Square = 115.5402 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

D-34
432

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 33. ART-WORK RELATED EXPENSES BY EXPERIMENT TIME*

PROPORTION OF TIME USED	None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	EXPENSES $2,000-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$1,001-up %	TOTAL % (N)
Most Time	10.2	12.9	12.6	21.6	23.8	17.1	1.7	100.0 (309)
Some Time	12.5	12.0	14.8	20.2	20.7	15.5	4.3	100.0 (579)
Little Time	11.1	18.2	14.3	20.9	16.3	15.4	3.1	100.0 (204)
No Time	40.6	19.0	16.6	6.7	9.6	7.5	0.0	100.0 (37)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	12.6	13.6	14.2	20.3	20.4	15.7	3.3	100.0 (1128)

Chi Square = 47.798 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0002

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 34. TOTAL WORK EXPENSES BY PRODUCTION TIME*

PROPORTION OF TIME USED				EXPENSES				TOTAL
	None %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,000-4,000 %	$4,001-10,000 %	$1,001-up %	% (N)
Most Time	10.7	5.8	10.9	15.9	26.6	21.5	8.5	100.0 (607)
Some Time	9.3	9.5	15.3	22.1	23.8	14.4	5.6	100.0 (323)
Little Time	11.1	25.1	8.2	17.4	23.7	12.6	1.8	100.0 (127)
No Time	24.4	26.1	12.6	13.4	8.0	13.2	2.3	100.0 (65)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	11.2	10.2	12.4	17.7	24.4	18.0	6.5	100.0 (1122)

Chi Square = 194.79831 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000
Contingency Coefficient = 0.29224

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

APPENDIX E

EXHIBITION RECORDS

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF MUSEUM SHOWS, 1975-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	56.6 (663)	70.4	41.2	58.4	56.4
One	18.4 (216)	14.2	23.9	20.1	15.4
Two	10.1 (118)	8.4	11.1	10.6	10.3
Three	4.6 (54)	2.7	8.4	2.7	4.6
Four	3.2 (38)	0.4	6.2	2.7	3.6
Five	1.7 (20)	0.4	1.8	2.0	2.6
Six	1.7 (19)	1.3	3.1	0.7	1.5
Seven to Nine	2.2 (20)	0.4	3.5	1.3	3.5
Ten or More	1.6 (17)	1.8	0.8	1.3	3.5
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (2272)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (223)	100.0 (195)
Mean	1.195	0.739	1.642	1.014	1.385
Median	0.384	0.211	0.870	0.357	0.386
Maximum Number of Museum Shows	15	12	15	14	12

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF SHOWS IN PUBLIC EXHIBITION SPACES, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	26.5 (311)	31.0	30.1	20.5	24.6
One	18.4 (215)	21.2	14.6	17.1	20.5
Two	12.0 (140)	10.6	10.2	15.4	11.8
Three	10.1 (118)	8.4	10.2	12.6	9.2
Four	6.1 (71)	4.9	5.8	8.5	5.1
Five	5.7 (67)	3.5	6.2	6.8	6.2
Six	4.1 (48)	3.5	4.0	2.7	6.2
Seven	3.3 (38)	3.1	4.0	2.4	3.6
Eight	1.8 (22)	1.3	1.8	2.7	1.5
Nine	4.4 (51)	5.3	4.4	3.1	4.6
Ten	2.3 (27)	2.7	3.1	2.4	1.0
Eleven to Twelve	3.1 (37)	1.7	4.0	3.1	3.6
Thirteen or More	2.3 (28)	2.7	1.8	2.7	2.0
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	3.228	2.960	3.305	3.386	3.262
Median	1.326	1.396	2.022	2.311	1.913
Maximum Number of Public Spaces Shows	23	23	21	19	23

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF SHOWS IN PRIVATE GALLERIES, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	43.0 (504)	45.6	33.2	52.9	40.5
One	19.8 (232)	13.7	21.7	19.1	24.6
Two	11.8 (138)	10.2	13.3	13.0	10.8
Three	9.0 (105)	11.9	10.2	6.1	7.7
Four	6.0 (70)	5.3	7.1	4.8	6.7
Five	2.8 (33)	4.0	3.5	0.7	3.1
Six	2.9 (34)	3.5	2.7	1.7	3.6
Seven to Nine	2.5 (28)	1.7	5.4	0.9	1.5
Ten or More	2.5 (28)	4.0	3.1	0.7	1.5
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	1.743	1.942	2.221	1.147	1.662
Median	0.852	0.832	1.276	0.445	0.885
Maximum Number of Shows in Private Galleries	18	16	16	15	18

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF SHOWS IN COOPERATIVE GALLERIES, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	67.8 (794)	46.0	74.8	67.2	83.1
One	12.6 (148)	13.3	7.5	18.4	11.3
Two	5.4 (63)	7.1	7.5	4.4	2.6
Three	4.0 (46)	9.3	4.9	1.7	
Four	1.8 (22)	3.1	0.9	2.4	1.0
Five	0.7 (8)	1.8	0.4	0.7	-
Six	1.8 (21)	4.4	0.9	1.4	0.5
Seven to Eight	1.6 (19)	4.0	0.4	2.1	-
Nine to Ten	3.0 (35)	7.9	2.6	1.0	0.5
Eleven or More	1.2 (22)	3.1	-	0.7	1.0
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	1.110	2.416	0.757	0.857	0.410
Median	0.238	0.800	0.169	0.244	0.102
Maximum Number of Shows in a Cooperative Gallery	13	12	10	11	13

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5. NUMBER OF SHOWS IN ALTERNATIVE SPACES, 1976-1979, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	84.5 (990)	82.3	81.9	90.1	83.6
One	8.7 (101)	12.4	8.4	5.1	8.7
Two	3.0 (35)	0.9	4.0	2.4	4.6
Three	1.3 (15)	0.4	2.2	1.0	1.5
Four	0.7 (8)	1.8	0.9	-	-
Five	0.6 (7)	1.3	0.4	-	0.5
Six	9.6 (7)	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.5
Seven or More	0.8 (9)	0.4	1.8	0.3	0.5
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (295)
Mean	0.343	0.358	0.478	0.215	0.323
Median	0.092	0.108	0.111	0.055	0.098
Maximum Number of Shows in Alternatives	10	9	10	7	8

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF SHOWS IN OTHER SPACES, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	72.8 (853)	74.8	73.0	69.6	73.8
One	10.3 (121)	9.7	11.1	11.3	9.2
Two	5.7 (66)	5.3	3.5	6.1	7.7
Three	3.0 (36)	1.8	5.8	2.0	2.6
Four	1.1 (15)	0.4	0.9	2.0	1.0
Five	1.5 (17)	1.3	2.7	1.4	0.5
Six	0.7 (8)	0.4	-	0.7	1.5
Seven to Eight	0.9 (10)	1.3	0.9	1.4	-
Nine to Ten	2.6 (31)	2.2	1.8	4.1	2.6
Eleven or More	1.5 (17)	2.7	0.4	1.4	1.0
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	0.949	1.000	0.823	1.133	0.841
Median	0.187	0.169	0.185	0.218	0.177
Maximum Number of Shows in Other Spaces	18	18	18	14	13

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF ONE-PERSONS SHOWS, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES* % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	39.3 (460)	42.5	35.4	37.2	42.1
One	22.9 (268)	23.9	23.0	20.5	24.1
Two	14.0 (164)	11.9	14.2	16.4	13.3
Three	9.2 (107)	7.5	11.5	7.8	9.7
Four	4.5 (53)	5.3	5.3	5.5	2.1
Five	2.0 (24)	1.3	2.7	3.1	1.0
Six	2.4 (28)	2.2	2.2	1.7	3.6
Seven to Nine	3.9 (45)	3.6	4.5	4.4	3.1
Ten or More	1.9 (23)	1.[illegible]	1.3	3.4	1.0
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	1.763	1.602	1.885	1.997	1.568
Median	0.969	0.815	1.135	1.125	0.830
Maximum Number of One-Person Shows	24	16	16	18	24

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF SMALL GROUP SHOWS, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	49.8 (584)	54.0	47.3	47.1	50.8
One	21.7 (255)	19.9	24.3	22.2	20.5
Two	11.4 (133)	7.5	12.4	15.4	10.3
Three	5.5 (65)	4.0	6.6	4.8	6.7
Four	3.6 (42)	5.8	3.1	4.1	1.5
Five	3.1 (36)	3.1	2.7	3.4	3.1
Six	1.4 (17)	3.5	0.4	0.7	1.0
Seven to Nine	1.8 (20)	0.4	2.2	0.6	3.6
Ten to Twelve	0.9 (11)	0.9	0.4	1.3	1.0
Thirteen or More	0.9 (11)	0.8	0.4	0.3	1.5
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	1.355	1.327	1.261	1.324	1.508
Median	0.509	0.926	0.609	0.631	0.485
Maximum Number of Small Group Shows	20	17	13	20	19

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*Based on a weighted sample.

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TABLE 9. NUMBER OF LARGE GROUP SHOWS, 1976-1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF SHOWS	COMBINED SAMPLES % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
None	16.7 (195)	9.7	15.0	21.8	20.0
One	12.6 (148)	10.6	13.3	14.7	11.8
Two	11.2 (132)	11.5	9.7	13.0	10.8
Three	9.1 (107)	11.1	8.4	7.8	9.2
Four	7.0 (82)	7.5	5.3	7.5	7.7
Five	5.9 (69)	5.8	5.8	7.5	4.6
Six	5.4 (63)	6.2	7.1	3.1	5.1
Seven	4.6 (54)	4.4	4.4	3.1	6.7
Eight	2.8 (33)	1.8	1.3	3.4	4.6
Nine	5.5 (65)	8.8	7.1	3.1	3.1
Ten	2.0 (23)	1.8	1.8	1.7	2.6
Eleven	3.1 (36)	3.5	2.2	2.4	4.1
Twelve	2.9 (34)	3.1	3.5	2.0	3.1
Thirteen to Fifteen	4.7 (55)	5.3	5.8	4.7	3.0
Sixteen to Twenty	3.7 (43)	4.4	5.8	2.6	2.0
Twenty One and More	2.8 (32)	4.4	3.5	1.3	1.5
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (1172)*	100.0 (226)	100.0 (226)	100.0 (293)	100.0 (195)
Mean	5.449	6.487	6.075	4.430	4.805
Median	3.559	4.441	4.167	2.565	3.306
Maximum Number of Large Group Shows	32	32	28	27	23

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*Based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 10. ARTISTS EXHIBITING IN "OTHER" SPACES, 1976-1978

TYPE OF SPACE	Percent of Those Who Exhibited in "Other" Spaces	Percent of Total Sample
Art Centers	12.2	3.5
Art Fairs, Mall Shows	18.1	5.2
Non-Art Private Commercial Space, e.g. banks, restaurants, etc.	44.4	12.7
Publications	0.7	0.2
Private Studio	8.3	2.6
Private Home/Club	7.8	2.2
Art Clubs/Associations	3.7	1.1
Media Institutions	3.7	1.1
TOTAL	28.7	
(N)	(270)	

520

TABLE 11. COMBINED EXHIBITION RECORDS, 1976-1978: PERCENT OF ARTISTS WITH NUMBER OF SHOWS BY EXHIBITION GROUP

EXHIBITION GROUP	NUMBER OF SHOWS						TOTAL			
	None %	1-2 %	3-5 %	6-10 %	11-20 %	21-up %	%	Mean %	Median %	Maximum Number of Shows
1 Person Museums	88.0	10.7	1.1	0.2	-	-	100.0	0.181	0.068	9
Small Group Museums, 1 Person and Small Group Private Gallery	56.6	30.2	10.5	2.3	0.4	-	100.0	1.016	0.384	19
1 Person and Small Group Public Gallery	56.9	27.8	11.5	3.1	0.6	-	100.0	1.110	0.379	14
Large Group Museums, Public and Private Galleries	25.8	26.3	20.6	18.3	6.6	0.5	100.0	3.680	2.327	23
1 Person and Small Groups in Cooperatives and Alternative Spaces	77.9	17.4	3.6	0.9	0.1	-	100.0	0.415	0.142	11
Large Groups in Cooperatives and Alternative Spaces	68.8	18.1	6.7	6.1	0.4	-	100.0	1.038	0.227	18
1 Person in Other Spaces	86.6	10.0	2.2	1.3	-	-	100.0	0.302	0.078	9
Small and Large Groups in Other Spaces	81.9	10.1	3.8	3.9	0.3	-	100.0	0.647	0.111	18

TABLE 12. EXHIBITION CLUSTER BY AGE*

EXHIBITION CLUSTER	AGE IN YEARS 18-29 %	30-39 %	40-49 %	50-64 %	65 or more %
1. **Low Exhibitions**	37.4	34.5	31.2	32.7	36.9
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	14.1	14.3	11.4	13.4	9.6
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	5.1	5.6	6.3	8.3	5.3
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	6.2	4.4	8.6	6.0	3.8
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	9.5	7.6	5.3	5.3	9.5
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	1.3	4.0	3.5	5.9	1.3
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	17.7	18.9	15.9	16.2	20.4
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	1.1	0.9	2.1	0.6	2.6
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	5.1	9.0	13.3	10.6	10.6
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	2.5	0.8	2.1	1.1	0.0
COLUMN TOTAL					
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(209)	(391)	(247)	(174)	(101)

Chi Square = 41.71964 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.2361

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 13. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY AGE*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF SHOWS	AGE IN YEARS 18 - 23 %	30 - 39 %	40 - 49 %	50 - 59 %	60 or more %	Row Total %
1 - 10	30.4	22.2	28.4	32.6	33.7	27.7
11- 20	28.8	27.2	31.1	26.0	32.5	27.6
21- 30	20.2	22.4	18.9	19.6	16.8	20.2
31- 40	18.2	14.3	10.1	9.6	10.6	13.1
41 UP	7.3	13.9	11.5	12.2	6.4	11.3
COLUMN TOTAL %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(203)	(391)	(247)	(174)	(101)	(1123)

Chi Square = 28.35803 with 16 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0285

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 14. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY GENDER*

WEIGHTED EXHIBITIONS	Male %	Female %
0 - 10	24.9	39.5
11 - 20	26.2	29.2
21 - 30	23.1	18.1
31 - 40	12.8	12.9
41 Up	13.0	9.3
COLUMN TOTAL	100.0	100.0
(N)	(556)	(587)

Chi Square = 11.45251 with 4 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0219

525

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 15. PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE BY GENDER

	0 - 3 Yrs.	6 - 9 Yrs.	7 - 10 Yrs.	11 - 15 Yrs.	16 - 20 Yrs.	21 or More	ROW TOTAL
MEN	49.7	40.2	46.5	57.4	44.6	50.4	48.2% (531)
WOMEN	50.3	59.8	53.5	42.6	55.4	49.6	51.8% (570)

Chi Square = 12.89499 with 5 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0244

TABLE 16. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY RACE*

NUMBER OF SHOWS	RACE Non-White %	 White %	TOTAL %
0 - 10	26.2	28.0	27.9
11 - 20	31.0	26.9	27.3
21 - 30	20.3	21.1	21.0
31 - 40	10.4	13.1	12.9
41 - Up	11.5	10.9	11.0
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (1042)	100.0 (1152)

Chi Square = 1.329 with 4 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.853

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 17. NUMBER OF COMMISSIONS RECEIVED IN 1978, BY CITY

NUMBER OF COMMISSIONED WORKS	ALL % (N)	WASHINGTON, DC %	SAN FRANCISCO %	MINNEAPOLIS %	HOUSTON %
One	30.4 (131)	34.0	30.1	26.2	33.0
Two	28.5 (123)	31.9	27.2	25.0	32.4
Three	11.4 (49)	12.8	11.0	13.6	8.1
Four to Six	17.4 (75)	12.8	18.4	22.1	14.6
Seven to Ten	5.8 (25)	6.4	4.5	6.5	6.0
Eleven or More	6.5 (28)	2.2	9.7	0.8	6.9
Total for Those Receiving Commissions (N)	100.0 (431)	100.0 (94)	100.0 (93)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (103)
Percent Who Received No Commissions	52.6	57.3	58.1	50.0	44.3

TABLE 18. DISTRIBUTION OF SALES REPRESENTATIVES BY WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF SHOWS	DISTRIBUTION OF WORK Locally %	 Regionally %	 Nationally and Internationally %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
0-10	55.4	21.9	22.7	100.0 (81)
11-20	50.7	32.0	17.3	100.0 (141)
21-30	49.6	20.8	28.8	100.0 (118)
31-40	43.4	22.8	32.7	100.0 (92)
41 or more	29.6	32.0	38.3	100.0 (85)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	46.5	26.2	26.9	100.0 (523)

Chi Square = 26.79675 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = .0083

530

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 19. TRIALS TO EXHIBIT OUTSIDE LOCAL AREAS BY EXPOSURE PATTERNS*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	No %	Yes %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. Low Exhibitions	71.5	28.5	100.0 (394)
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	35.9	64.1	100.0 (149)
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	16.7	83.3	100.0 (62)
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	54.6	45.4	100.0 (64)
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	54.4	45.6	100.0 (78)
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	47.9	52.1	100.0 (36)
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	48.0	52.0	100.0 (202)
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	13.6	86.4	100.0 (15)
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	56.5	43.5	100.0 (100)
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	73.1	26.9	100.0 (15)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	54.5	45.5	100.0 (1115)

Chi Square = 118.42433 with 9 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 20. ARTIST'S INCOME BY WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF SHOWS	INCOME $0-2999 %	 $3000-4999 %	 $5000-6999 %	 $7000-9999 %	 $10000-12999 %	 $13000-15999 %	 $16000-19999 %	 $20000-29999 %	 $30000-49999 %	 $50000 and up %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
0 - 10	41.3	9.5	9.6	7.3	8.4	5.2	3.6	9.9	4.6	0.7	100.0 (327)
11 - 20	34.0	11.4	6.6	12.0	10.3	5.9	8.1	8.3	3.2	0.3	100.0 (322)
21 - 30	27.5	8.6	8.3	13.6	11.4	9.7	8.0	5.6	6.7	0.5	100.0 (246)
31 - 40	23.8	12.7	13.2	14.0	5.5	9.5	6.0	6.1	7.4	1.8	100.0 (148)
41 and over	16.0	13.3	12.9	11.7	9.5	2.2	11.3	12.7	4.6	5.7	100.0 (128)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	31.4	10.7	9.3	11.2	9.3	6.5	6.9	8.4	5.0	1.2	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 103.45143 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample

TABLE 21. ARTIST'S INCOME BY EXPOSURE PATTERNS*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	INCOME $0-2999 %	$3000-4999 %	$5000-6999 %	$7000-9999 %	$10000-12999 %	$13000-15999 %	$16000-19999 %	$20000-29999 %	$30000-49999 %	$50000-and up %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. Low Exhibitions	34.9	11.6	11.1	11.7	8.6	6.1	4.4	7.4	3.4	0.8	100.0 (409)
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	32.3	11.0	11.8	11.2	7.1	6.9	7.9	9.4	1.5	0.9	100.0 (151)
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	36.7	9.5	8.4	5.2	9.2	3.7	8.8	9.2	5.6	3.7	100.0 (69)
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	41.2	6.8	9.1	15.6	12.2	3.4	1.9	7.7	1.9	0.0	100.0 (67)
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	23.6	9.5	5.6	11.8	12.4	6.6	13.4	14.4	2.7	0.0	100.0 (85)
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternative, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	28.6	10.1	7.3	6.7	7.8	15.1	10.6	8.6	5.2	0.0	100.0 (38)
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	28.6	9.6	7.3	11.8	7.7	8.5	4.2	7.6	8.5	1.4	100.0 (208)
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	33.2	8.8	0.0	13.6	25.9	8.8	6.8	0.0	8.8	20.5	100.0 (15)
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	15.7	11.4	7.6	10.4	11.6	5.2	16.3	9.5	11.2	1.2	100.0 (112)
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	27.0	20.7	17.6	12.6	15.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	0.0	100.0 (16)
COLUMN TOTAL	31.4	10.7	9.3	11.2	9.3	6.5	6.9	8.4	5.0	1.2	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 161.92507 with 81 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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TABLE 22. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY PRODUCTION COSTS*

NUMBER OF SHOWS	PRODUCTION COSTS							
	None	$1-500	$501-1,000	$1,001-2,000	$2,001-4,000	$4,001-10,000	$10,001-up	ROW TOTAL
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	% (N)
0-10	46.8	54.9	25.4	25.5	14.5	13.5	14.0	27.9
11-20	22.8	31.5	38.0	31.3	23.3	21.5	16.4	27.5
21-30	15.9	11.0	24.4	22.7	24.6	22.8	27.8	21.0
31-40	9.1	1.9	8.4	12.6	20.2	18.4	16.1	12.6
41-up	5.3	0.8	3.7	7.9	17.4	23.8	25.7	10.9
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (159)	100.0 (158)	100.0 (166)	100.0 (233)	100.0 (237)	100.0 (180)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (1172)

Chi square = 230.07466 with 24 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0

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[*] Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 23. EXPOSURE CLUSTER BY PRODUCTION COSTS*

EXPOSURE CLUSTER	PRODUCTION COSTS							TOTAL
	$0 %	$1-500 %	$501-1,000 %	$1,001-2,000 %	$2,001-4,000 %	$4,000-10,000 %	$10,001-up %	(N)
1. **Low Exhibitions**	46.3	54.5	38.5	38.8	22.4	18.9	20.4	
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	11.8	3.7	6.6	15.9	21.1	12.8	14.8	
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	5.7	1.6	3.5	5.0	5.2	14.0	6.9	
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	4.1	7.2	7.8	6.7	6.2	3.3	0.0	
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	5.0	5.7	11.6	6.9	8.2	6.9	2.6	
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternatives, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	3.2	2.9	2.0	3.3	5.2	3.1	0.0	
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	15.0	19.2	18.6	14.4	18.0	20.4	27.5	
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	0.5	3.2	10.6	
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	7.2	3.8	9.5	6.3	11.7	16.6	17.2	
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	1.9	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.4	0.8	0.0	
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (159)	100.0 (158)	100.0 (166)	100.0 (233)	100.0 (237)	100.0 (180)	100.0 (38)	(1172)

Chi Square = 192.63916 with 54 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample

TABLE 24. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TYPE OF STUDIO*

NUMBER OF SHOWS	STUDIO At Home %	Separate Rented %	Separate Owned %	Rented & Shared %	Rent Free %	Other Studio %	No Studio Space %	ROW TOTAL %
0-10	30.1	22.5	18.2	9.4	29.7	22.9	68.1	28.0
11-20	27.9	25.1	26.6	27.2	27.3	37.6	14.4	27.1
21-30	20.6	18.2	27.2	32.1	19.8	14.6	12.4	21.0
31-40	12.5	16.8	12.8	16.9	12.3	8.1	2.0	12.8
40-up	8.9	17.4	15.2	14.4	10.8	16.9	3.1	11.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (688)	100.0 (152)	100.0 (92)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (43)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (1159)

Chi Square = 88.34756 with 32 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 25. TIME USE: DETAILED ART-RELATED ACTIVITIES

	ART-RELATED ACTIVITY					
PROPORTION OF ART-ACTIVITIES TIME	EXPERIMENTING %	SELLING WORK %	PRODUCING WORK %	PREPARING FOR EXHIBITS %	DISCUSSING IDEAS %	OTHER ACTIVITIES * %
Most Time	27.0	0.8	53.6	3.5	4.6	15.7
Some Time	52.0	14.4	29.2	42.0	48.2	55.0
Little Time	17.7	51.0	11.3	43.3	39.4	16.5
No Time	3.3	33.9	5.9	11.2	7.9	12.8
TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (906)	100.0 (898)	100.0 (901)	100.0 (893)	100.0 (901)	100.0 (345)

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*Distribution of "other" art activities is presented in Appendix E, Table 26.

TABLE 26. PERCENT OF ARTISTS DEVOTING ANY TIME TO "OTHER" ART-RELATED ACTIVITIES*

ACTIVITY	ARTISTS %
Reading/lecturing	9.3
Studying art	44.2
Art organizational activities	17.7
Writing about art	2.9
Seeking financial resources for art work	2.6
Producing work not for sale	7.6
Thinking about ideas	4.7
Gallery sitting	4.7
Handling business aspects of art work	6.4
TOTAL (N)	100.0 (345)

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*Other than selling and producing their work, preparing for an exhibition, experimenting with new ideas and techniques and discussing ideas with colleagues.

TABLE 27. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TIME DEVOTED TO WORK IN STUDIO*

	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK					
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	0-10 %	11-20 %	21-30 %	31-40 %	41-up %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	39.1	27.1	19.1	20.7	21.4	27.3
11 - 20	30.5	33.4	27.5	22.3	18.9	28.0
21 - 30	16.9	19.7	22.0	29.1	21.3	20.8
31 - 40	7.7	12.6	14.8	11.6	22.7	12.8
41 or more	5.9	7.2	16.6	16.3	15.8	11.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (311)	100.0 (291)	100.0 (209)	100.0 (149)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (1108)

Chi Square = 84.75017 with 16 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 28. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TIME USED FOR PRODUCTION OF ART WORK*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	Some Time %	Little Time %	No Time %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	23.8	24.1	42.7	39.5	27.0
11 - 20	25.7	28.9	28.0	33.5	27.4
21 - 30	20.4	26.1	16.8	13.2	21.2
31 - 40	16.4	10.3	6.0	9.5	13.1
41 or more	13.8	10.6	6.4	4.3	11.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (607)	100.0 (323)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (1122)

Chi Square = 48.32010 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

515

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 29. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY EXPERIMENTING TIME*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	Some Time %	Little Time %	No Time %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	25.4	27.7	26.8	43.9	27.4
11 - 20	26.7	25.6	31.7	42.5	27.5
21 - 30	18.7	21.6	23.6	6.1	20.6
31 - 40	15.1	14.0	8.7	3.5	13.0
41 or more	14.1	11.1	9.3	4.0	11.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (309)	100.0 (579)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (112.8)

Chi Square = 26.41759 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0094

546

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 30. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TIME USED FOR SELLING ART WORK*

	PROPORTION OF TIME USED				
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	Most Time %	Some Time %	Little Time %	No Time %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	66.7	22.2	21.5	35.5	26.7
11 - 20	11.1	24.3	27.4	29.2	27.4
21 - 30	11.1	25.7	20.4	20.8	21.2
31 - 40	0.0	14.1	16.3	8.6	13.2
41 or more	11.1	13.6	14.5	5.9	11.4
COLUMN TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	0.8	14.5	50.8	33.9	100.0
(N)	(9)	(162)	(568)	(380)	(1120)

Chi Square = 52.94951 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.000

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[*] Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 31. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TIME USED FOR PREPARING WORK FOR SHOWS*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	PROPORTION OF TIME USED Most Time %	 Some Time %	 Little Time %	 No Time %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	30.6	18.0	28.4	50.8	26.6
11 - 20	31.9	25.1	29.6	26.3	27.4
21 - 30	17.0	25.9	19.0	13.9	21.3
31 - 40	13.1	14.8	13.3	6.9	13.2
41 or more	7.4	16.2	9.7	2.0	11.5
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (466)	100.0 (483)	100.0 (122)	100.00 (1112)

Chi Square - 77.24544 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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[*] Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 32. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT IN A NON-ART RELATED JOB*

WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	EMPLOYMENT Full-Time %	 Part-Time %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
0 - 10	32.1	31.5	31.8 (131)
11 - 20	33.7	24.6	28.7 (118)
21 - 30	21.1	19.9	20.2 (84)
31 - 40	6.0	13.4	10.1 (42)
41 or more	7.0	10.6	9.6 (38)
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (181)	100.0 (233)	100.0 (414)

Chi Square = 20.35942 with 12 degrees of freedom **
Significance = 0.0606

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[*] Totals based on a weighted sample.

[**] The original table was 5 x 4, but two columns containing 6 error cases were dropped for this presentation.

549

468

TABLE 33. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT IN AN ART RELATED JOB*

	EMPLOYMENT				
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	Full-Time & Part-Time %	Full-Time Only %	Part-Time Only %	No Work %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	23.5	27.6	23.8	25.0	25.0
11 - 20	29.5	23.8	28.7	31.8	28.0
21 - 30	25.8	19.5	21.2	20.5	21.1
31 - 40	6.1	15.4	14.8	13.2	13.9
41 or more	15.0	13.8	11.5	9.5	12.1
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (81)	100.0 (236)	100.0 (408)	100.0 (154)	100.0 (879)

Chi Square = 10.83263 with 12 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.5433

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

APPENDIX F

OCCUPATIONAL CONDITIONS II:
THE EXHIBITION PROCESS

TABLE 1. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF EFFORTS TO GET EXHIBITED

	Cluster	By Invitation	Dealer Agreement	Door-to-Door	Appointments--no introduction	Appointments--with introduction	Open Juried Competition	Personal Relationships	Member of Gallery	N
1.	No Effort; No Answer	-1.0	- .75	- .93	- .81	- .87	- .19	- .74	- .58	84
2.	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	1.12	1.03	1.30	1.41	1.11	1.72	.86	1.03	176
3.	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	2.75	1.14	1.34	1.30	1.74	1.94	2.21	1.13	258
4.	Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	3.02	.13	- .84	- .72	- .80	.48	- .17	- .87	82
5.	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	2.04	- .93	- .54	- .93	- .61	2.29	.37	2.90	41
6.	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	2.63	3.22	1.18	1.29	1.40	1.50	1.82	1.12	119
7.	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	2.27	1.40	1.36	1.28	1.42	2.49	1.78	2.84	180
	OVERALL MEAN	2.00	1.09	.84	.85	.96	1.65	1.27	1.18	940

TABLE 2. ARTIST'S GENDER BY EFFORTS MADE TO OBTAIN EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES*

EFFORTS Cluster	SEX Male %	 Female %	ROW TOTAL %
1. No Effort; No Answer	9.3	8.2	8.7
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	18.2	19.0	18.6
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	30.3	25.1	27.7
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	9.4	7.2	8.3
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	1.5	6.8	4.2
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	18.2	8.4	13.2
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	13.1	25.2	19.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (556)	100.0 (587)	100.0 (1144)

Chi Square = 65.94008 with 6 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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474

TABLE 3. EFFORTS MADE BY OBTAIN EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES* BY ARTIST'S RACE

EFFORTS Cluster		RACE NonWhites %	 Whites %	ROW TOTAL %
1.	No Effort; No Answer	14.5	8.2	8.8
2.	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	8.4	19.7	13.6
3.	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	27.3	27.5	27.5
4.	Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	10.5	8.1	8.3
5.	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	1.2	4.5	4.2
6.	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	14.8	13.2	13.3
7.	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	23.3	18.9	19.3
	COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (1042)	100.0 (1152)

Chi Square = 16.00668 with 6 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .013

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 4. ARTISTS' EFFORTS OBTAINING EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES BY ART-EDUCATION*

EFFORTS Cluster		ART EDUCATION MFA, MA %	BFA, BA, MA Art Education %	Art Classes %	Self-Taught %	ROW TOTAL %
1.	No Effort; No Answer	6.7	7.4	11.3	15.2	8.9
2.	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	16.3	22.8	16.7	16.9	18.5
3.	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	33.1	26.7	24.8	19.8	27.7
4.	Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	6.9	6.9	9.5	13.9	8.2
5.	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	2.2	5.4	5.7	2.8	4.3
6.	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	16.9	10.5	10.8	18.0	13.2
7.	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	17.8	20.2	21.0	13.4	19.2
	COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (374)	100.0 (366)	100.0 (341)	100.0 (83)	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 45.055 with 18 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .0004

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4/76

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 5. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF FACTORS CONSIDERED IN LOOKING FOR EXHIBITION SPACES

Cluster	Gallery Taking Add'l Artists	Upcoming Special Show	Upcoming Competition	Compatibility with What Is Shown	Quality of Work Shown	Outside Opinion Recommends	Friendly with Exhibitor	Reputation of Space	Reputation of Staff	Cost of Exhibiting in Space	Reputation of Director for Working with Artists	Media Coverage of Space	Promotional Work by Space	Exhibitor Understood My Ideas	N
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	- .81	- .55	- .70	- .82	- .23	- .76	- .89	- .82	- .86	- .78	- .99	- .85	- .92	- .69	74
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	.90	1.18	1.26	1.01	1.29	.89	.98	1.02	1.02	.88	1.08	.98	.91	1.18	120
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	2.31	2.17	2.23	3.50	3.89	2.50	2.29	3.72	3.54	3.24	3.56	3.06	3.08	3.41	199
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	- .62	- .22	- .08	1.82	3.17	.32	- .57	2.41	.37	.24	- .41	- .17	- .81	- .02	63
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	1.06	.88	1.09	2.92	3.64	1.68	1.54	3.45	3.09	1.63	2.67	1.87	1.68	3.14	139
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	1.49	1.82	1.90	2.32	2.97	1.97	1.48	2.17	1.55	2.05	1.67	1.67	1.28	1.30	115
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	2.14	2.12	2.29	2.99	3.39	2.19	1.70	2.81	2.53	2.83	2.52	2.29	2.07	2.62	230
OVERALL MEAN	1.36	1.42	1.53	2.37	2.91	1.63	1.33	2.48	2.10	1.94	2.00	1.74	1.55	2.08	940

TABLE 6. ARTISTS' CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES BY ART FORM*

	CONSIDERATIONS CLUSTERS							
	Considered None of Them; No Answer	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	ROW TOTAL
ART FORM	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	% (N)
Painting	8.8	13.9	24.2	4.4	15.6	10.6	22.5	32.8 (382)
Sculpture	10.5	15.2	19.4	9.9	15.6	8.8	20.7	13.5 (157)
Printmaking	2.0	5.9	25.1	7.9	8.1	16.1	31.9	6.7 (78)
Drawing	10.0	8.2	19.2	5.7	13.5	11.4	31.9	4.2 (49)
Photography	7.4	12.5	15.3	5.5	16.3	11.3	30.9	9.9 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	5.7	12.3	6.5	3.7	29.5	22.4	19.8	3.0 (35)
Crafts	3.5	12.8	20.9	6.6	7.6	17.3	26.3	6.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	9.0	4.0	25.1	5.2	9.2	33.5	19.1	2.2 (25)
Other Art Forms	6.2	11.9	23.4	8.9	14.1	10.2	25.2	21.7 (253)
COLUMN TOTAL %	7.9	12.4	21.7	6.6	14.5	12.0	24.8	100.0 (1164)

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Chi Square = 63.46162 with 48 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0667

TABLE 7. ARTISTS CONSIDERATIONS BY GENDER

CONSIDERATIONS Cluster	SEX Male %	 Female %	ROW TOTAL %
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	7.3	7.3	7.3
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	15.3	9.9	12.5
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	19.9	23.3	21.6
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	4.0	8.9	6.5
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	17.4	12.0	14.5
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	12.8	11.6	12.2
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	23.3	27.6	25.2
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (556)	100.0 (587)	100.0 (1144)

Chi Square = 26.53316 with 6 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .0002

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 8. ARTISTS CONSIDERATIONS BY RACE

CONSIDERATIONS Cluster	RACE NonWhite %	 White %	ROW TOTAL %
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	10.6	7.0	7.3
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	13.4	12.6	12.7
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	17.2	22.0	21.3
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	3.7	6.9	5.6
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	10.2	15.6	15.1
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	13.7	11.6	11.8
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	31.2	24.4	25.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (1042)	100.0 (1152)

Chi Square = 8.54365 with 6 degrees of freedom
Significance = .209

TABLE 9. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION SOURCES USUALLY CONSIDERED IN LOOKING FOR AN EXHIBITION SPACE

Cluster	Other Artists	Friends (not Artists)	Art Teachers	Local Art Publications	Regional or National Art Publications	Local Newspapers	Exhibitor of Interest	Other Exhibitors	Local Artist Organization	Art Service Organization	Personal Knowledge	Other	N
1. Consider No Outside Sources; No Answer	.12	.03	.10	.08	.14	.11	.09	.09	.18	.05	.39	.01	305
2. Very High in Personal Knowledge; Some Other Artists	1.18	.25	.10	.48	.39	.51	.57	.34	.22	.16	6.47	.05	114
3. High in Other Artists, Moderate in Most Other Categories	3.09	.34	.34	.88	.88	.71	.40	.75	.56	.25	1.19	.08	124
4. Very High in Other Artists, Very Low in Other Categories	7.98	.14	.06	.48	.50	.54	.61	.19	.14	.06	1.15	0.0	84
5. High On Interested Exhibitor; Moderate on Other Artists	2.73	.27	.15	.45	.70	.55	3.56	.42	.11	.12	2.23	.02	119
6. High in Other Artists and Personal Knowledge	4.28	.25	.09	.45	.51	.65	.47	.30	.19	.06	3.79	.03	151
7. High in Friends (not Artists) and Moderate on Personal Knowledge	1.95	3.58	.07	.32	.28	.70	.65	.30	.09	.16	2.34	.02	43
OVERALL MEAN	2.43	.34	.13	.39	.44	.45	.76	.30	.22	.11	2.17	.03	940

TABLE 10. NETWORKS USED FOR INFORMATION REGARDING EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES BY ART FORM*

	NETWORK CLUSTERS							
	Little Use of Networks No Sources	Self-Reliants	Other Artists, and Publications Self-Reliants	Other Artists	Show's Exhibitor	Other Artists and Self-Reliants	Non Artist Friends and Self-Reliant	ROW TOTAL (N)
ART FORM	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Painting	32.5	10.4	14.9	8.4	11.6	13.1	3.1	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	38.2	10.6	8.8	11.9	11.6	15.6	3.2	100.0 (157)
Printmaking	22.0	13.1	11.6	8.1	15.0	24.9	5.2	100.0 (78)
Drawing	27.6	13.7	12.5	4.7	8.4	20.9	12.3	100.0 (49)
Photography	34.4	15.3	6.7	10.4	17.6	10.6	5.1	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	29.0	10.0	11.7	16.0	3.7	22.1	7.4	100.0 (35)
Crafts	38.7	6.9	18.1	7.0	12.5	13.4	3.3	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	18.3	35.5	10.0	8.0	14.3	10.0	4.0	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	29.9	13.9	17.5	8.4	13.2	10.7	6.4	100.0 (253)
COLUMN TOTAL %	31.9	12.3	13.5	9.0	12.5	16.0	4.7	100.0 (1164)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Chi Square = 72.74641 with 48 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0121

TABLE 11. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION TOPICS REGULARLY REVIEWED

	Cluster	Local Artist Ideas	Major Market Ideas	Art Criticism	Local Art Scene	Local Shows	National Shows	Exhibition System	Art History	N
1.	**None; No Answer**	- .48	- .61	- .55	- .53	- .86	-1.00	-1.00	- .43	51
2.	**Low Interest in Local Artists and Art Scene**	2.16	1.61	1.60	2.01	1.80	1.39	1.13	1.66	103
3.	**Substantial Interest in All Topics**	3.56	3.38	3.38	3.62	3.69	3.40	3.09	3.18	288
4.	**Moderate Interest in All Topics But the Exhibition System**	2.95	2.86	2.95	3.04	3.20	3.01	1.41	3.28	167
5.	**Moderate Interest in All Topics But Art History**	3.25	2.93	2.73	2.69	3.39	2.87	2.26	1.54	163
6.	**Low to Moderate Interest in All Topics**	2.61	1.95	2.10	2.79	2.93	2.59	2.58	2.67	141
7.	**High Interest in Local Spaces; Moderate Interest in Other Topics Except Exhibition System and Art History**	2.07	1.70	1.96	2.56	3.11	2.44	- .85	-1.00	27
	OVERALL MEAN	2.84	2.54	2.55	2.80	2.97	2.63	2.02	2.35	

TABLE 12. TOPICS OF INTEREST BY ART FORM*

	TOPICS CLUSTERS							
ART FORM	None; No Answer %	Low Interest %	High Interest in All Topics %	Moderate Interest in All but Exhibition System %	High Interest in All but Art History %	Moderate Interest in All but Major Market and Criticism %	Moderate Local Show Interest; Low in Other Areas %	ROW TOTAL (N) %
Painting	6.8	10.8	32.4	16.5	16.1	14.0	3.4	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	5.0	15.3	26.6	15.3	18.3	17.3	2.3	100.0 (157)
Printmaking	3.3	1.7	41.6	14.4	21.6	15.8	1.7	100.0 (78)
Drawing	5.7	7.4	45.4	15.4	13.1	10.4	2.7	100.0 (49)
Photography	3.7	8.4	29.5	24.1	11.7	16.8	5.9	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Performance Environmental Installation	0.0	24.1	34.4	17.5	9.5	14.6	0.0	100.0 (35)
Crafts	8.1	18.3	16.8	22.7	15.7	13.2	5.2	100.0 (59)
Multiple Visual Forms	4.0	0.0	23.9	20.3	33.5	18.3	0.0	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	5.1	9.7	31.1	16.9	20.6	14.5	2.2	100.0 (253)
COLUMN TOTAL %	5.4	10.8	31.2	17.5	17.3	14.9	3.0	100.0 (1164)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Chi Square = 65.139 with 48 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0422

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TABLE 13. TOPICS OF INTEREST BY GENDER

TOPICS	S E X		ROW
Cluster	Male %	Female %	TOTAL %
1. None; No Answer	4.3	4.1	4.2
2. Low Interest	14.2	7.7	10.8
3. High Interest in All Topics	23.3	39.7	31.7
4. Moderate Interest in All but Exhibition System	20.7	14.8	17.7
5. High Interest in All but Art History	17.3	17.5	17.4
6. Moderate Interest in All but Major Market and Criticism	17.6	12.8	15.1
7. Moderate Local Show Interest; Low In Other Areas	2.6	3.5	3.1
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (556)	100.0 (587)	100.0 (1144)

Chi Square = 46.29 with 6 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 14. TOPICS OF INTEREST BY RACE*

TOPICS	RACE		ROW TOTAL
Cluster	NonWhite %	White %	%
1. None; No Answer	9.6	4.1	4.6
2. Low Interest	17.6	10.2	10.9
3. High Interest in All Topics	33.5	31.1	31.4
4. Moderate Interest in All but Exhibition System	8.5	18.8	17.8
5. High Interest in All but Art History	12.1	13.1	17.5
6. Moderate Interest in All but Major Market and Criticism	16.1	14.7	14.8
7. Moderate Local Show Interest; Low in Other Areas	2.5	3.1	3.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (1042)	100.0 (1152)

Chi Square = 20.01 with 6 degrees of freedom.
Significance = .0028

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 15. ARTISTS TOPICS OF INTEREST BY ART EDUCATION*

TOPICS Cluster	ART EDUCATION MFA, MA %	BFA, BA, MA Art Education %	Art Classes %	Self-Taught %	ROW TOTAL %
1. None; No Answer	2.3	4.5	6.5	11.1	4.6
2. Low Interest	10.3	10.4	10.4	17.0	10.9
3. High Interest in All Topics	35.3	30.4	31.1	16.3	31.2
4. Moderate Interest In All but Exhibition System	21.2	16.3	16.1	14.5	17.7
5. High Interest In All but Art History	15.8	18.6	18.6	16.7	17.6
6. Moderate Interest In All but Major Market and Criticism	13.6	17.4	12.4	19.0	14.8
7. Moderate Local Show Interest; Low In Other Areas	1.4	2.4	5.0	5.0	3.0
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (374)	100.0 (366)	100.0 (341)	100.0 (83)	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 43.45668 with 18 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0007

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 16. CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF SOURCES FOR ART INFORMATION USUALLY FOLLOWED

Cluster	National Journals %	Local Journals %	Local Artists %	Local Friends %	Local Papers %	Outside Papers %	Local Schools %	Local Museums and Art Centers %	Local Alternative Spaces %	Outside Exhibitors %	Professional Meetings %	Outside Artists %	Information Centers %	Other Media %	Personal Knowledge %	ROW TOTAL % (N)*
1. Had Few if Any Outside Sources; Did Not Answer	.40	.19	.24	.19	.23	.23	.24	.19	.07	.09	.22	.09	.02	.11	.02	184
2. Rely Primarily on National Journals, Some Local Newspapers	3.63	.37	.72	.09	1.31	.06	.15	.42	.06	.10	.24	.14	.02	.20	.06	153
3. Rely Primarily on Local Artists	.50	.39	3.01	.17	.42	.18	.34	.45	.11	.13	.18	.36	.02	.30	.09	88
4. Rely Primarily on National and Local Journals	2.35	2.53	.71	.09	.37	.12	.27	.30	.04	.06	.15	.12	0.0	.19	.06	113
5. Rely Primarily on Local Newspapers	.98	.36	.73	.12	2.75	.29	.41	.53	.04	.04	.22	.06	.01	.34	.03	116
6. Rely Mostly on National Journals and Local Art Departments	2.10	.50	.61	.11	.44	.10	.39	2.20	.05	.07	.24	.11	.04	.37	.06	135
7. Rely Primarily on National Journals and Local Artists	2.79	.32	2.79	.05	.36	.12	.23	.28	.05	.03	.13	.15	.01	.25	.07	151
OVERALL MEAN	1.87	.61	1.16	.12	.75	.16	.28	.63	.06	.07	.20	.14	.02	.24	.05	

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TABLE 17. SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST BY ART FORM*

ART FORMS	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
Painting	19.7	17.5	6.0	11.8	16.5	14.4	14.1	100.0 (382)
Sculpture	22.2	12.4	10.0	11.1	12.3	11.8	20.1	100.0 (157)
Printmaking	11.2	17.9	11.7	16.5	8.3	16.0	18.3	100.0 (78)
Drawing	17.8	21.3	15.7	5.3	7.4	10.8	21.7	100.0 (49)
Photography	16.4	17.0	8.8	15.1	7.6	15.2	19.9	100.0 (115)
New Forms: Video Conceptual Perfotmance Environmental Installation	31.5	14.4	17.7	9.5	8.0	5.7	13.2	100.0 (35)
Crafts	25.0	18.0	12.0	13.7	13.8	8.9	8.7	100.0 (69)
Multiple Visual Forms	14.3	19.1	8.0	0.0	22.3	15.1	21.1	100.0 (25)
Other Art Forms	19.3	14.4	10.4	11.9	11.3	18.3	14.5	100.0 (253)
COLUMN TOTALS (N) %	19.5	16.2	9.3	11.9	12.7	14.4	16.0	100.0 (1164)

Chi Square = 57.30879 with 48 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.1681

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 18. TIME SPENT ON ART WORK BY EFFORTS CLUSTER*

HOURS PER AVERAGE WEEK	No Effort; No Answer %	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition %	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships %	Virtually all Exhibits by Invitation Only %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only %	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, w/Moderate Efforts in Other Areas %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
0 - 10	33.2	31.4	14.5	22.3	32.2	10.8	16.8	20.5
11 - 20	32.8	26.3	22.7	31.8	27.7	22.6	30.6	26.7
21 - 30	12.4	16.2	23.2	19.9	19.1	16.9	22.1	19.5
31 - 40	10.7	10.1	17.6	13.0	12.5	20.5	13.9	14.7
41 UP	10.9	15.9	22.0	13.0	8.4	29.2	16.7	18.6
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (96)	100.0 (210)	100.0 (321)	100.0 (93)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (152)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (1142)

Chi Square = 80.563 with 24 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 19. TIME SPENT ON ART WORK BY CONSIDERATIONS CLUSTER*

	CONSIDERATIONS CLUSTERS							
HOURS PER AVERAGE WEEK	Considered None of Them; No Answer %	Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor %	Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors %	Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately %	Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals %	Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes %	Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	32.7	39.8	11.5	21.8	14.5	21.9	17.5	20.5
11 - 20	33.3	30.3	21.4	20.9	20.1	30.4	30.9	26.7
21 - 30	17.3	9.8	23.7	19.9	23.6	19.0	19.2	19.5
31 - 40	8.4	6.0	19.4	18.4	16.5	13.2	15.8	14.7
41 UP	8.3	14.1	24.0	18.9	25.2	15.4	16.6	18.6
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	100.0 (86)	100.0 (144)	100.0 (250)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (170)	100.0 (140)	100.0 (283)	100.0

Chi Square = 99.226 with 24 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 20. ARTISTS' EFFORTS BY TOPICS OF INTEREST*

TOPICS CLUSTERS

EFFORTS Cluster	None; No Answer %	Low Interest in Local Artists and Art Scene %	Substantial Interest in All Topics %	Moderate Interest in All Topics but the Exhibition System %	Moderate Interest in All Topics but Art History %	Low to Moderate Interest in All Topics %	High Interest in Local Spaces; Moderate Interest in Other Topics Except Exhibition System and Art History %	ROW TOTAL %
1. No Effort; No Answer	35.4	15.2	4.7	10.9	6.0	5.0	18.5	9.3
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	21.7	18.3	16.6	18.3	17.7	20.5	29.9	13.5
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	7.6	24.6	30.4	23.2	30.7	34.8	19.4	27.7
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	20.2	13.7	4.3	9.8	7.8	4.5	16.8	3.1
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	5.7	2.0	5.4	3.3	4.0	3.5	8.0	4.2
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	5.7	12.3	13.1	15.3	15.6	12.6	3.7	13.1
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	3.6	13.9	25.6	19.1	18.1	19.1	3.7	14.1
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (363)	100.0 (206)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (1172)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 21. ARTISTS' EFFORTS BY NETWORKS USED FOR INFORMATION REGARDING EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES*

EFFORTS Cluster	NETWORK CLUSTERS Little Use of Networks %	Self-Reliant %	Other Artists Publications Self-Reliant %	Other Artists %	Show's Exhibitor %	Other Artists and Self-Reliant %	Friends and Self-Reliant %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. No Effort; No Answer	79.8	2.6	7.5	4.0	0.0	6.2	0.0	100.0 (109)
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	35.9	11.4	11.5	10.2	14.0	13.5	3.6	100.0 (217)
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	19.7	16.0	14.5	11.0	11.6	19.4	7.8	100.0 (324)
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	54.3	12.2	9.9	2.1	12.6	4.8	4.8	100.0 (95)
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	39.6	11.9	23.7	2.6	2.6	19.5	0.0	100.0 (50)
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	16.9	22.2	8.1	7.2	18.7	19.1	7.8	100.0 (154)
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	21.8	6.2	19.8	12.9	17.0	19.5	2.9	100.0 (224)
TOTAL % (N)	32.0 (375)	12.4 (145)	13.5 (158)	9.0 (105)	12.6 (148)	15.9 (186)	4.7 (55)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 259.965 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample

TABLE 22. SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST BY TOPICS OF INTEREST*

		SOURCES OF INFORMATION							
	TOPICS Cluster	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1.	None; No Answer	90.8	2.1	2.4	2.4	0.0	2.4	0.0	100.0 (63)
2.	Low Interest in Local Artists and Art Scene	44.1	4.8	17.7	3.1	12.8	5.2	12.2	100.0 (127)
3.	Substantial Interest in All Topics	8.8	17.2	9.2	12.6	13.8	14.3	24.1	100.0 (363)
4.	Moderate Interest in All Topics But the Exhibition System	9.6	23.9	8.3	14.7	12.3	21.7	9.6	100.0 (206)
5.	Moderate Interest in All Topics But Art History	8.5	18.0	9.5	17.5	13.9	14.9	17.7	100.0 (204)
6.	Low to Moderate Interest in All Topics	17.8	18.5	8.5	11.4	12.9	15.4	15.6	100.0 (174)
7.	High Interest in Local Spaces; Moderate Interest in Other Topics Except Exhibition System and Art History	44.5	11.7	0.0	10.2	14.8	18.8	0.0	100.0 (35)
	COLUMN TOTAL %	19.5	16.4	9.3	12.0	12.6	14.4	15.9	100.0 (1172)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 23. ARTISTS' CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES BY SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST*

CONSIDERATIONS Cluster	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	20.6	5.2	4.2	4.5	6.1	5.3	3.4	7.9
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	22.5	10.9	9.0	9.7	13.8	13.4	4.5	12.6
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	12.7	25.8	28.7	17.1	18.8	20.8	30.5	21.6
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	13.2	5.2	5.1	5.3	7.7	4.4	2.9	6.6
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	9.1	18.5	17.1	16.2	8.7	15.0	20.3	14.8
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	11.8	10.8	11.1	11.1	15.5	18.3	6.2	12.0
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	10.2	23.6	24.7	36.0	29.5	22.9	32.3	24.6
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (229)	100.0 (132)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 193.16035 with 36 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 24. ARTISTS' EFFORTS BY USE OF INFORMATION SOURCES FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST*

EFFORTS CLUSTER	SOURCES OF INFORMATION							
	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. No Effort; No Answer	14.6	10.7	3.5	5.3	12.6	7.1	6.9	9.3
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	22.0	17.4	20.7	19.4	14.6	20.7	14.6	18.5
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	18.2	26.9	39.8	29.8	15.5	25.2	43.3	27.7
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	16.9	6.5	4.5	4.0	12.8	5.5	3.1	8.1
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	5.5	2.5	5.1	4.0	6.6	4.0	2.5	4.2
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	11.0	21.6	9.9	13.2	13.7	10.3	10.8	13.1
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	11.7	14.4	16.5	24.4	24.1	27.3	18.9	19.1
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (229)	100.0 (192)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (1172)

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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TABLE 25. EFFORTS USED TO GET EXHIBITED BY EXPERIENCE AS AN ARTISTS*

	YEARS						
EFFORTS Cluster	0-3	4-6	7-10	11-15	16-20	21 or more	ROW TOTAL
1. No Effort; No Answer	5.5	27.1	19.2	3.9	16.5	27.9	100% (97)
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	10.1	17.6	27.3	20.3	10.5	14.1	100% (206)
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	8.1	17.5	25.8	19.5	12.1	17.0	100% (316)
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	1.6	9.5	16.0	19.1	16.8	37.0	100% (93)
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	5.7	12.3	19.3	15.1	6.6	41.0	100% (46)
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	3.3	13.5	12.7	18.1	16.2	36.2	100% (149)
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	7.2	17.0	21.7	18.8	14.6	20.7	100% (213)
COLUMN TOTAL %	6.8	16.8	21.9	17.8	13.4	23.3	1121

Chi Square = 90.874 with 30 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0000

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*Total based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 26. ARTISTS' EFFORTS BY MODE OF SELECTION TO MOST RECENT SHOW

EFFORTS Cluster	Selected to Open-Juried Shows %	Had an Agreement w/a Dealer %	Selected On Basis of Gallery Membership %	Received Invitations %	Entered Non-Competitive Shows %	ROW TOTAL % N*
	MODE OF SELECTION					
1. No Effort; No Answer	20.9	25.6	23.3	14.0	16.3	100.0 (43)
2. Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition	4.8	31.9	10.7	36.5	13.1	100.0 (129)
3. Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships	5.7	18.6	4.7	59.9	11.0	100.0 (285)
4. Virtually All Exhibits by Invitation Only	12.6	13.3	9.2	55.4	10.6	100.0 (75)
5. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only	3.1	43.5	22.8	19.8	10.8	100.0 (42)
6. High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships	35.1	4.6	3.0	50.3	7.0	100.0 (131)
7. Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, With Moderate Efforts in Other Areas	2.4	23.3	35.2	27.3	12.0	100.0 (202)
COLUMN TOTAL % (N)	10.4 (94)	20.9 (190)	14.0 (127)	43.6 (395)	11.1 (101)	100.0 (907)

Chi Square = 335.54785 with 36 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 27. LOCATION OF RECENT SHOW BY ARTISTS' CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING EXPOSURE OPPORTUNITIES*

	TYPE OF SPACE							
CONSIDERATIONS Cluster	Museum %	Public Space %	Commercial Gallery %	Artist-Run Gallery %	Alternative Space %	Fairs %	Other Spaces %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. Considered None of Them; No Answer	16.8	21.5	11.2	25.8	8.2	8.9	8.7	100.0 (44)
2. Gave Little Consideration to Any Factor	12.0	32.4	20.3	13.8	7.4	8.3	6.5	100.0 (108)
3. Usually Gave Consideration to All Factors	16.8	22.2	32.5	7.8	11.2	4.4	5.1	100.0 (208)
4. Considered Quality of Work Shown in Space Almost Always, and Compatibility and Reputation of Space Moderately	15.1	39.2	12.7	13.4	7.7	9.5	2.3	100.0 (56)
5. Usually or Always Considered Compatibility, Quality of Work Shown, Reputation of Space and Staff, and Exhibitor Understanding Ideals	18.6	20.2	38.3	5.3	11.9	3.9	1.9	100.0 (149)
6. Considered Most Factors Only Sometimes	16.1	25.2	18.6	23.2	9.2	5.1	2.6	100.0 (109)
7. Gave Moderate Consideration to All Factors	13.6	28.5	20.0	19.2	9.0	6.1	3.7	100.0 (242)
COLUMN TOTAL %	15.4	26.1	24.8	14.2	9.6	5.8	4.0	100.0 (916)

Chi Square = 95.03122 with 42 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

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4/99

TABLE 28. EXPOSURE PATTERNS BY TOPICS OF INTEREST*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	EFFORTS CLUSTERS No Effort; No Answer %	Very Little Effort Outside Juried Competition %	Primarily by Invitation and Personal Relationships %	Virtually all Exhibits by Invitation Only %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Membership Only %	High on Invitation, Gallery Equipment and Personal Relationships %	Invitation, Juried Competition and Gallery Memberships, w/Moderate Efforts in Other Areas %	ROW TOTAL %
1. Low Exhibitions	57.2	44.9	28.1	37.4	26.2	39.5	43.0	34.9
2. Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	9.8	9.7	17.8	9.1	10.5	13.6	12.3	12.9
3. High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces	8.2	2.0	7.8	3.1	5.9	7.6	4.3	5.9
4. Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives	2.1	3.1	7.1	3.5	9.8	3.7	7.4	5.7
5. One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces	5.7	7.8	4.9	10.9	9.3	5.8	7.1	7.3
6. Large Group in Traditional, Alternatives, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces	0.0	4.3	3.4	2.7	4.4	2.8	3.7	3.3
7. Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces	9.3	11.8	20.6	19.2	18.4	18.3	11.1	17.8
8. High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces	0.0	0.8	2.5	1.1	0.5	0.9	0.0	1.3
9. Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows	7.7	13.2	6.6	10.8	14.4	6.5	11.1	9.6
10. One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows	0.0	2.4	1.3	2.1	0.6	1.4	0.0	1.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (363)	100.0 (206)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (1172)

*Totals based on a weighted sample. Chi Square = 101.81 with 54 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.0001

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TABLE 29. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY TOPICS OF INTEREST*

	TOPICS CLUSTERS							
	None; No Answer	Low Interest in Local Artists and Art Scene	Substantial Interest in All Topics	Moderate Interest in All Topics But the Exhibition System	High Interest in Local Spaces; Moderate Interest in Other Topics Except Exhibition System and Art History	Moderate Interest in All Topics But Art History	Low to Moderate Interest in All Topics	ROW TOTAL
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF SHOWS	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0 - 10	45.1	39.8	20.2	25.8	25.6	32.0	39.6	27.9
11 - 20	26.1	23.9	29.8	28.3	24.9	27.8	28.5	27.5
21 - 30	17.4	23.8	18.7	25.9	20.2	19.7	24.0	21.0
31 - 40	11.4	7.2	17.2	9.8	17.4	7.1	3.7	12.6
41 or more	0.0	5.2	14.1	10.2	12.0	13.4	4.3	10.9
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (363)	100.0 (206)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 67.69432 with 24 degrees of freedom. Significance = 0.12017

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 30. EXPOSURE PATTERNS BY SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST*

EXPOSURE CLUSTERS	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL % (N)
1. **Low Exhibitions**	43.2	28.7	41.0	23.7	40.6	34.5	31.9	34.9
2. **Medium Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	11.8	12.9	13.3	14.9	10.2	9.8	17.5	12.9
3. **High Exhibitions in Traditional Spaces**	6.9	6.5	4.5	9.2	5.5	5.5	3.3	5.9
4. **Large Group in Alternative Spaces or Cooperatives**	2.8	4.6	8.6	5.5	7.2	6.6	7.0	5.7
5. **One-Person in Small Group in Public Spaces**	6.9	7.1	8.2	7.0	4.7	7.5	9.5	7.3
6. **Large Group in Traditional, Alternatives, Cooperatives or "Other" Spaces**	2.7	3.2	3.2	3.5	5.3	5.2	0.7	3.3
7. **Moderate Exhibitions With Large Group in Traditional Spaces**	13.1	20.6	12.4	21.7	15.6	17.4	22.9	17.8
8. **High Exhibitions in All Types of Spaces**	0.6	2.0	0.0	0.7	1.0	2.4	1.6	1.3
9. **Moderate Exhibitions in Small Group Museum or One-Person Private Gallery Shows**	11.0	13.5	7.8	11.3	7.6	10.0	4.7	9.6
10. **One-Person "Other" Space and Large Group Shows**	1.1	1.0	0.9	2.6	2.2	1.2	0.8	1.4
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (229)	100.0 (192)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (146)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (1172)

*Totals based on a weighted sample.

Chi Square = 71.348 with 54 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.057

502

606
607

TABLE 31. WEIGHTED EXHIBITION RECORD BY SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST*

	SOURCES OF INFORMATION							
WEIGHTED NUMBER OF EXHIBITIONS	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL %
0 - 10	35.5	27.2	26.6	23.1	37.7	23.4	20.0	27.9
11 - 20	26.2	26.1	30.0	28.9	27.0	30.1	26.1	27.5
21 - 30	16.7	27.2	11.4	20.5	17.3	23.0	27.0	21.0
31 - 40	11.5	10.7	17.1	11.5	11.5	13.2	14.7	12.6
41 or more	10.0	8.8	14.9	15.9	6.6	10.4	12.1	10.9
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (223)	100.0 (132)	100.0 (103)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (186)	100.0)1172)

Chi Square = 44.52055 with 24 degrees of freedom.
Significance = 0.0066

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 32. ART INCOME BY TOPICS OF INTEREST*

TOPICS CLUSTERS

ART INCOME	None; No Answer %	Low Interest in Local Artists and Art Scene %	Substantial Interest in All Topics %	Moderate Interest in All Topics but the Exhibition System %	Moderate Interest in All Topics but Art History %	Low to Moderate Interest in All Topics %	High Interest in Local Spaces; Moderate Interest in Other Topics Except Exhibition System and Art History %	ROW TOTAL %
No Art Income	57.0	41.2	22.2	24.5	21.0	18.6	32.8	26.1
$ 1 - 500	7.7	11.6	17.8	22.9	20.2	18.9	15.4	18.0
501 - 1,000	3.6	9.8	15.4	13.7	18.0	15.5	14.5	14.3
1,001 - 2,000	8.9	12.3	14.5	11.4	7.4	10.6	19.1	11.7
2,001 - 4,000	6.8	10.0	13.5	8.4	14.6	11.8	13.9	11.8
4,001 - 10,000	6.2	9.6	8.6	13.0	9.9	10.5	4.3	9.8
10,001 or more	9.8	5.4	8.0	6.1	8.9	14.2	0.0	8.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (363)	100.0 (206)	100.0 (204)	100.0 (174)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (1172)

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504

Chi Square = 93.97369 with 36 degrees of freedom
Significance = 0.000

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

TABLE 33. ART INCOME BY SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED FOR TOPICS OF INTEREST*

	SOURCES OF INFORMATION							
ART INCOME	Outside Sources Did Not Answer %	National Journals, Some Local Newspapers %	Local Artists %	National and Local Journals %	Local Newspapers %	National Journals and Local Art Departments %	National Journals and Local Artists %	ROW TOTAL %
No Art Income	41.9	15.6	31.2	22.3	23.4	22.8	22.5	26.1
$ 1 - 500	13.2	16.2	22.8	17.5	23.5	15.8	20.9	18.0
501 - 1,000	10.3	13.3	7.3	15.9	16.8	17.7	18.0	14.3
1,001 - 2,000	11.8	13.7	14.1	12.6	9.7	9.2	11.4	11.7
2,001 - 4,000	10.2	11.0	7.6	13.4	8.3	17.4	13.6	11.8
4,001 - 10,000	5.6	18.4	12.1	5.5	10.2	8.1	8.9	9.8
10,001 or more	6.9	11.7	4.9	12.8	8.1	9.0	4.6	8.3
COLUMN TOTAL (N)	100.0 (229)	100.0 (192)	100.0 (109)	100.0 (141)	100.0 (148)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (1172)

Chi Square = 98.516 with 36 degrees of freedom. Significance = .0000.

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*Totals based on a weighted sample.

APPENDIX G

CLUSTER ANALYSIS DESCRIPTION

The following is a more detailed narrative description of the characteristics of the Howard-Harris cluster program used in this study. This description is taken directly from Gary Ford, "Pattern of Competition Within the Computer Industry: A Cluster Analytic Approach," State University of New York, Buffalo, June 1973, with the permission of the author.

THE HOWARD-HARRIS CLUSTER ANALYSIS PROGRAM

Cluster analysis is concerned with grouping similar objects. "Its usual objective is to separate objects into groups such that each object is more like other objects in its group than like objects outside the group. Cluster analysis is thus ultimately concerned with classification and its techniques are part of the field of numerical taxonomy." Typically, clustering procedures assign objects to one and only one class and objects within the class are assumed to be indistinguishable from one another on the basis of the underlying structure of the data describing the objects. When performing cluster analysis, the researcher is assuming that the data are heterogeneous and that homogeneous groups exist within the total sample. However, wiht cluster analysis there is no prior information on group definition. On the basis of this broad description of the goals of cluster analysis, we must identify the major problems associated with its use.

An important problem concerns the measure of interobject similarity to be used. Most clustering procedures use pairwise measures of proximity which generally fall into two classes: (1) distance-type measures, and (2) matching type measures.*

Distance type measures are appropriate when the objects being clustered can be viewed as points in multidimensional space. The formula for the Euclidean distance function is:

$$d_{ij} = \left[\sum_{k=1}^{r} \left| (X_{ik} - X_{jk}) \right|^{2} \right]^{1/2}$$

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*The second class proximity measures are appropriate for data which are nominally scaled and is of no relevance to this study.

where X_{ik}, X_{jk} are the projections of points i and j on dimensions k (k=1, 2, ..., 4). To eliminate the problem of variables being measured in different units, the distance formula is usually applied after each variable has been standardized to zero mean and unit standard deviation.

The use of the Euclidean distance measure technically assumes that the variables describing objects are uncorrelated. Where variables are correlated, those dimensions are implicitly being weighted heavier than uncorrelated variables.

Finally, the Euclidean distance measure preserves all of the information contained in the original data matrix. Therefore, if the assumptions surrounding its use can be met, it is a desirable distance method to use.

Other distance measures have also been proposed. However, many of these distance measures have the undesirable property of reducing the dimensionality of the original space by eliminating some of the information contained in the original data matrix.

A second important problem with cluster analysis concerns the weight which is given to each dimension in the clustering procedure. It should be noted that unless the researcher has explicitly determined that uncorrelated variables (or dimensions) are used to describe objects, the actual weight being given to each dimension is unknown. For this reason, principal components factor analysis is often performed on the original data matrix, and the objects are expressed in terms of factor scores for clustering. With this procedure the analyst knows that each factor is uncorrelated and weighted equally. At this point the analyst also may want to weight some variables heavier than others, and can by multiplying each dimension by a constant expressing its desired relative weight.

A third major problem with clustering procedures concerns the criteria which are used to form clusters. There are many different algorithms and computational routines available for performing clustering. The two most often used classes of clustering programs can be identified as hierarchical methods and connectivity methods.

Hierarchical methods usually start out with one point at the first level and add the closest point to it at the second level, and so on, with the criteria for clustering being minimizing the diameter of the cluster. Eventually all points form one large cluster. If no points are close enough to the starting cluster according to some predetermined criteria, a second cluster is started. This process is continued until all points are accounted for. Hierarchical methods may also start with one large cluster including all points, and divide into two clusters and then into three clusters, etc., on the basis of average within cluster distance. The objective in these programs is to minimize the reduction in the within cluster sums of squared distances.

Connectivity methods develop linkage of points based on interpoint distances. The two closest points form a cluster, then the next closest points form a cluster, then the next closest point is linked on these two, and so on. This process continues until all points are in one cluster or until no point is close enough to the first cluster to be linked to it according to some prespecified criteria. The two closest remaining points are then taken as the start of the second cluster and the process is continued, until all points are clustered. The result of this procedure is strands of objects.

At an intuitive level the criteria of hierarchical methods which result in "clumps" of objects rather than strands is more appealing to this researcher. Furthermore, for the purposes of this study, i.e., to define groups of similar (i.e., competing) machine across all dimensions, the hierarchical methods seem more appropriate.

A fourth problem with cluster analysis is concerned with how many clusters to form. There are no statistical procedures available to the researcher that tell when to stop clustering. In this study, a measure analogous to the notion of explained variance was employed. A ratio was formed between the Total Sums of Squares of distances among all points and the sum of Within Clusters Sums of Squares for each cluster. When increasing the number of clusters by one did not substantially reduce the within clusters sums of squares, it was apparent that the clusters were about as compact as they were going to be. This quantitative decision rule appeared more useful than simply using the subjective opinions of the researcher to decide when to stop clustering.

Given that the analyst arrives at a cluster analytic solution, the final problem remains as to hwo the clusters are to be described. One frequently used measure is that of the cluster centroid, which is the average value of the objects contained in the cluster on each dimension.

This measure is quite natural for objects which are interval scaled. If the dimensions are factor scores, the analyst will have to go back to the factor analysis correlation matrix and attempt to identify each factor in terms of the original variables or a summary descriptive phrase. In addition to the centroid, the analyst may want to compute some measure of cluster variability such as average interpoint distance between each point and the cluster centroid. In this dissertation the variance of each cluster centroid was computed as a measure of compactness.

A final caveat concerning cluster analysis concerns the lack of statistical tests to estimate the reliability of clusters. As Green and Tull state, "...no fully defensible procedures are currently available."

The Howard-Harris cluster program used in this report can be described as a hierarchical grouping technique. The criterion of this cluster routine at any given level of clustering is to find clusters whose within-cluster sums of squares summed over all clusters is minimal.

The program starts with two clusters (based on the assignment of objects to two groups according to their being above or below the mean on the first characteristic) and sequentially improves the initial two clusters by transferring points from cluster to cluster. If the squared distance of any object to the mean of its own cluster is greater than its distance to the mean of any other cluster, the object is transferred to the cluster whose mean is closest to it. The resulting optimum only holds for the given number of clusters.

Of the two clusters, the one having the greatest within cluster sum-of-squares is next partitioned (on the basis of its mean on the first characteristic) yielding three clusters. Objects are again transferred among clusters to satisfy the minimum within sum-of-squares criterion. The program proceeds in this way to a maximum of 10 clusters. As currently revised, the program can accommodate up to 15 input variables.

At each stage in the analysis the program prints out: (1) the membership in each cluster; (2) the coordinates of the cluster centroids; (3) the total sum of squares for each variable in each cluster; and (4) the total within clusters sum-of-squares summed over all clusters. The number of subjects in each cluster is also provided. Mean values, like those used in text and appendix cluster tables, are calculated from these data and used for "defining" the clusters.